Complete Analysis of All California Contests

california JOURNAL

FEBRUARY 2000
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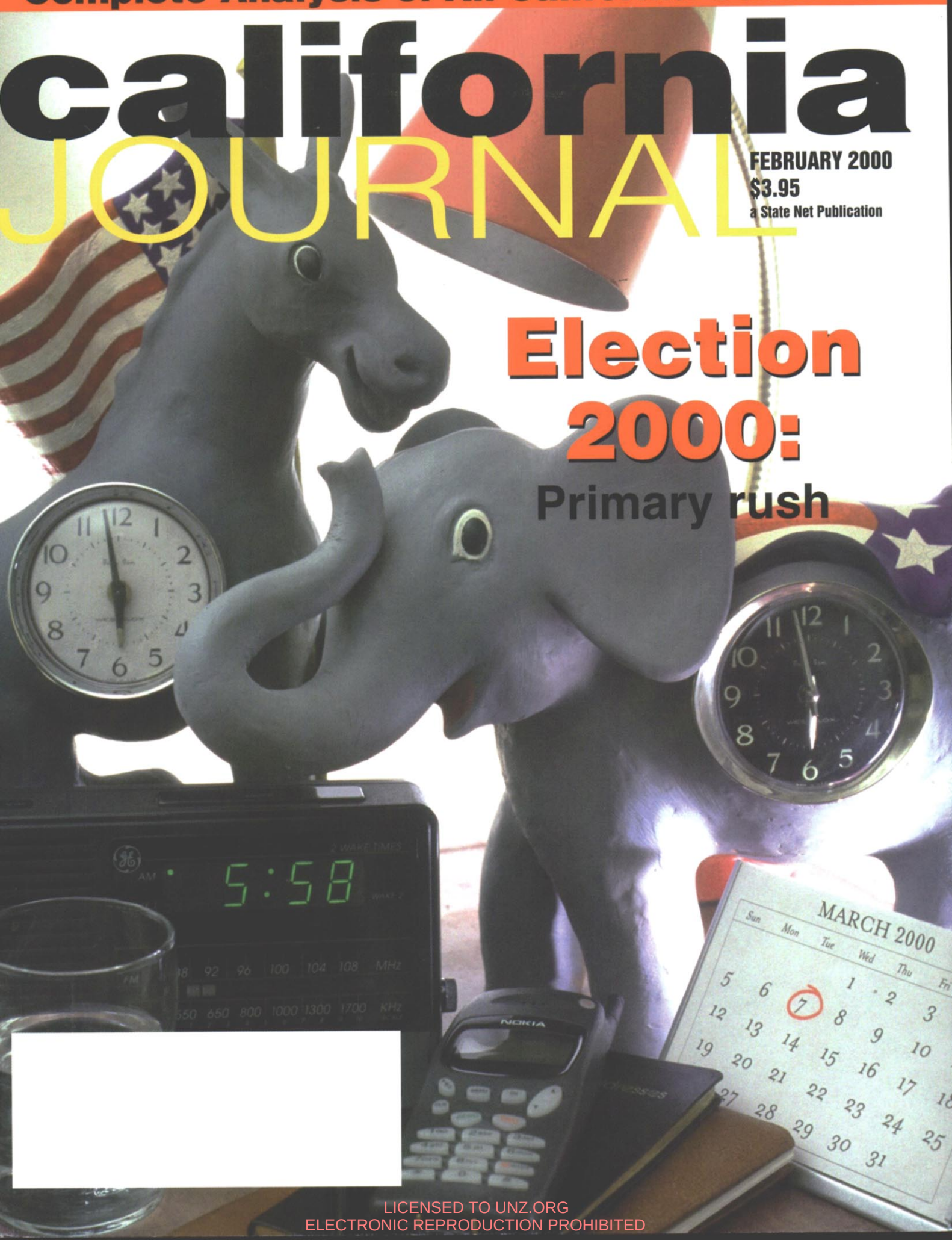

Election 2000:

Primary rush

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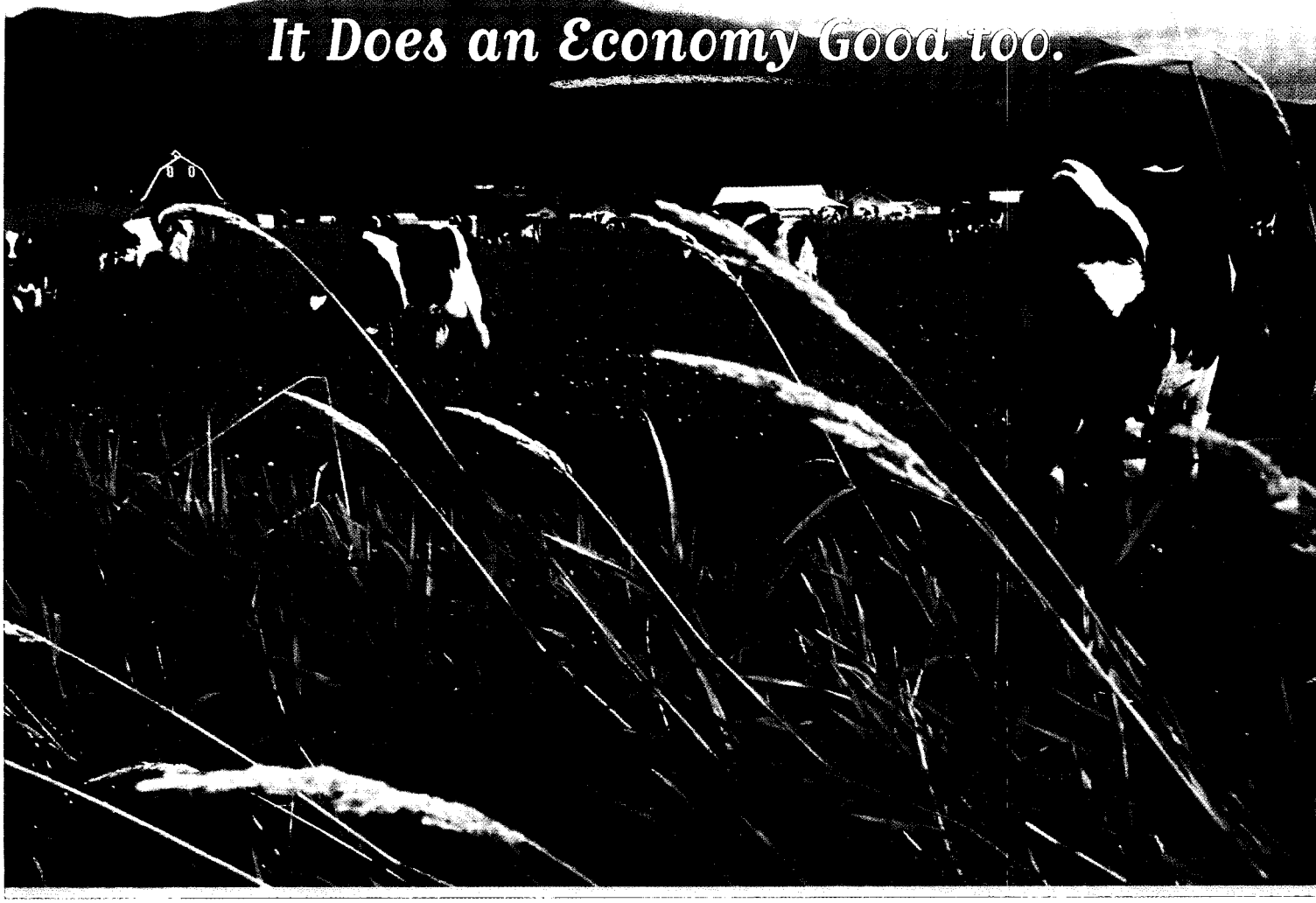
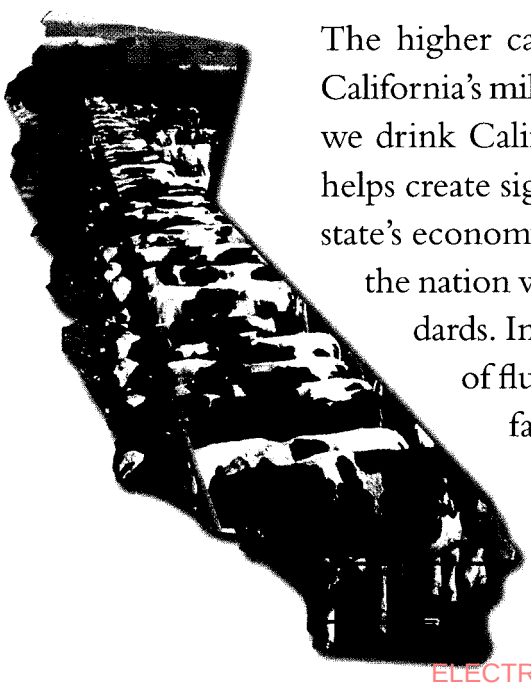
California Milk!

It Does an Economy Good too.



California's #1 Agricultural Product



The higher calcium content and overall health benefits of California's milk supply are well documented. However, when we drink California milk it not only benefits our bodies, it helps create significant revenue and over **42,000 jobs** for the state's economy. California's dairy industry continues to lead the nation with the highest milk quality and nutrition standards. In 1999 it also led the nation in the production of fluid milk, butter, frozen dairy products and nonfat dry milk, while ranking second in cheese and yogurt production.

Just one more reason why Californi milk benefits us all. **A message from California's dairy producers and processo**

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California JOURNAL
February 2000
Volume XXXI, Number 2

Upfront

The Bottom Line

Two Cents

Washington Perspective

Our 18-hour days

The late President Lyndon B. Johnson was a politician who was, shall we say, obsessed with his craft. "I seldom think about politics more than 18 hours a day," he once quipped. Were LBJ to have paid a visit to our offices over the past few weeks, he would have felt right at home in a workplace abuzz with chatter about tracking polls, end-of-year-reports, ballot designations and district demographics.

Our political culture has become an ever-more-complex world. Term limits, the open primary, third parties and the Hydra-headed initiative process have made voting more like work, and less like an exhilarating exercise in democracy. Too many of our media colleagues, notably those in commercial television, have used this complexity as an excuse to "dumb down" election coverage or, worse, to blow it off altogether.

In this context, the magazine you hold fills, at least in part, an increasingly gaping void. Roughly one of every four pages of our magazine over the coming year will be devoted to covering the 2000 elections, independently and from a California perspective. Our district-by-district attention to legislative and congressional contests is unique. More than a few candidates have commented they learn more about how they and their races are perceived through our pages than through their own local newspapers.

Steve Scott

This comprehensive approach enables us to show readers how their current leaders handle the campaign crucible, and to introduce them to newcomers who will lead them into the next century.

Some days, you weep for the democracy. More often, though, you come away reassured that there are *still* people out there genuinely committed to making a difference. In any event, we think chronicling the process is worth the space ... as well as a few 18-hour days.

And they're off!

Campaign cycles are spinning at a dizzying pace as March 7's primary finish fast approaches. From the national stage on down, vibrant contests abound, with both major parties investing heavily in capturing victory.

By Steve Scott

U.S. President

Before you know it, Californians will choose the final two.

By Steve Scott

U.S. Senate

U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein attempts to defend her seat.

By A.G. Block

Congress

The big showdown will be over control of the U.S. Congress.

By CJ Editors

State Senate

Odd-numbered seats, plus one, are up for election this year.

By CJ Editors

Assembly

The entire lower house stands election again.

By CJ Editors

Propositions

Big-time Indian casinos are back, and so are school funding and campaign finance reform, among other hot topics.

By CJ Editors

Table tableau created by Diana Craft, a sculptor and art instructor living in the Bay Area.

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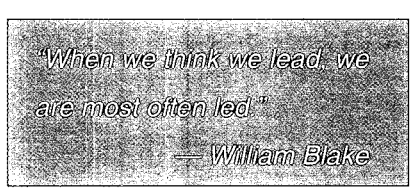
umbrage

Virtual "potatoe." Governor Gray Davis is anxious to show what a techno-savvy administration he's running, so he had his staff completely redesign not only his Web site, but the official state of California site. The result was a lot like a new release of Microsoft Windows — blatantly self-promoting and full of bugs. When the site (www.ca.gov) first went up, it was locked away behind a whiz-bang frontage that users with older computers couldn't even penetrate. Those who were able to get in probably wondered if Davis hadn't bought the state, as the marquee content was all about the governor: live Webcast of his speech, links to his pet projects, a Java scroll announcing news like "Governor makes new appointments," "Governor issues 'call to arms' to teachers," etc. But the real hoot came when they tried to "fix" the access problem. A nondescript cover page aimed at giving surfers a choice of format welcomed them to the "Califonia" Home Page (see below). We knew the guy was stingy with the taxpayers' dollar, but you'd have thought there was enough money for keyboards with the letter R. Eventually the spelling mistake was fixed, but that wasn't the end of it. The depiction of the official state flag images — a grizzly bear and a star — were backward. And to top it all off, the list of statewide office holders left out state Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin at first, and when it finally added her, put her down as "Delanie." Davis is a big one for making public-school students take tests. Maybe a little spelling and typing exam wouldn't be a bad idea over there at the home office.

Clear and present danger. Which international organization is viewed by some Assembly Republicans as so grave a threat to the future of the U.S. that membership in it should in no way be encouraged by the state Legislature? A) The United Nations B) The World Trade Organization C) The Socialist Workers Party D) The PTA. If you gave "D" as your final answer, you win the million dollars. Last month, the Assembly Rules Committee took up one of those thumb-sucking resolutions declaring February as "Join the Parent Teacher Association Month." Assemblyman Robert Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles), who then was just the lowly old Rules chair, asked why the resolution hadn't been placed on the consent calendar. Assemblyman Bill Leonard (R-Redlands) said it was his doing, arguing that the Legislature usually doesn't go around endorsing recruitment drives for a private advocacy organization that lobbies in Sacramento. Okay, we'll buy that — a little hard line, but at least in range of reason. The discussion didn't really leave the planet until Assemblyman Brett Granlund (R-Yucaipa) piped up that he would "never" join the PTA. Granlund's beef: They mold young minds to liberalism. The committee finally settled on language to "support and recognize" the PTA. But apparently even that wasn't good enough, and Granlund and Leonard voted "no." Guess these guys are so desperate to find leftist boogeymen that even the PTA doesn't escape suspicion. Do these guys miss "the Evil Empire" or what?



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Associate Editors: Claudia Buck, Noel Brinkerhoff, Kathleen Les, Melanie Smith

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Contributing Editors: Lou Cannon, Lance Izumi, Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, Susan Rasky, Marc Sandalow, Dana Wilkie

Research Assistants: Melissa Mikesell, Tippy Young

Circulation: Tim Foster

Art Director: Dagmar Thompson

Art Staff: Suzanne Raney

Advertising : **Naomi Johnston** (916) 444-2840

Advertising Coordinator: Erica Pahl, (916) 444-2840

Founding Publisher: Thomas R. Hoeber

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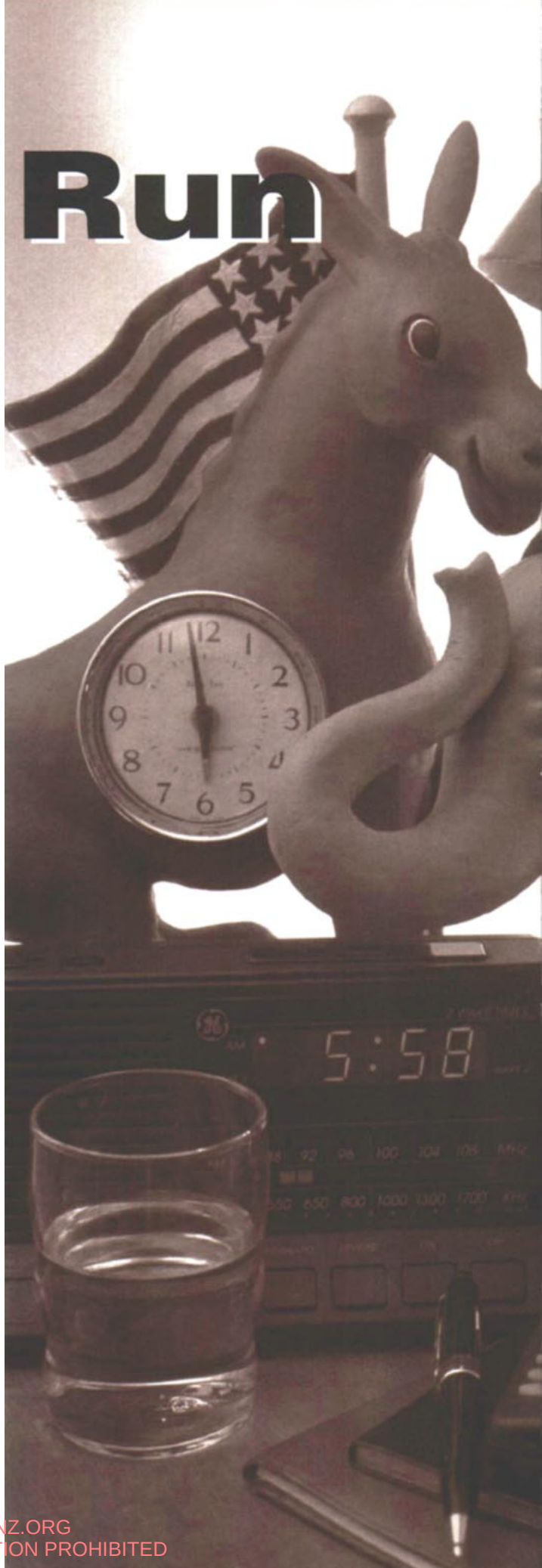
(Y)2K Run

With its primary permanently moved into March, the California campaign marathon has turned into a truncated sprint for candidates and ballot advocates alike. The good news: A competitive presidential primary may actually give voters a reason to pay attention.

By Steve Scott



They start showing up in the mailbox in the middle of September. Catalogs from every clothing manufacturer and widget shop known to humanity, all bleating about the need to get busy shopping for the Christmas holidays. For most of us, the reaction goes something like this: "Christmas? It's *September,* for crying out loud!" We blithely ignore the commercial importuning into the fall until suddenly, it's the first week of December. Pre-holiday hysteria hits, and the next few weeks are a desperate blur of mall mobs, 800 numbers and "dot-coms."

Anyone who has felt those waves of seasonal anxiety has a sense of how political candidates and initiative activists are feeling going into this year's California primary, scheduled for March 7.

In a bid to boost the state's influence in the coming presidential contest, the state Legislature and then-Governor Pete Wilson decided in 1997 to permanently relocate

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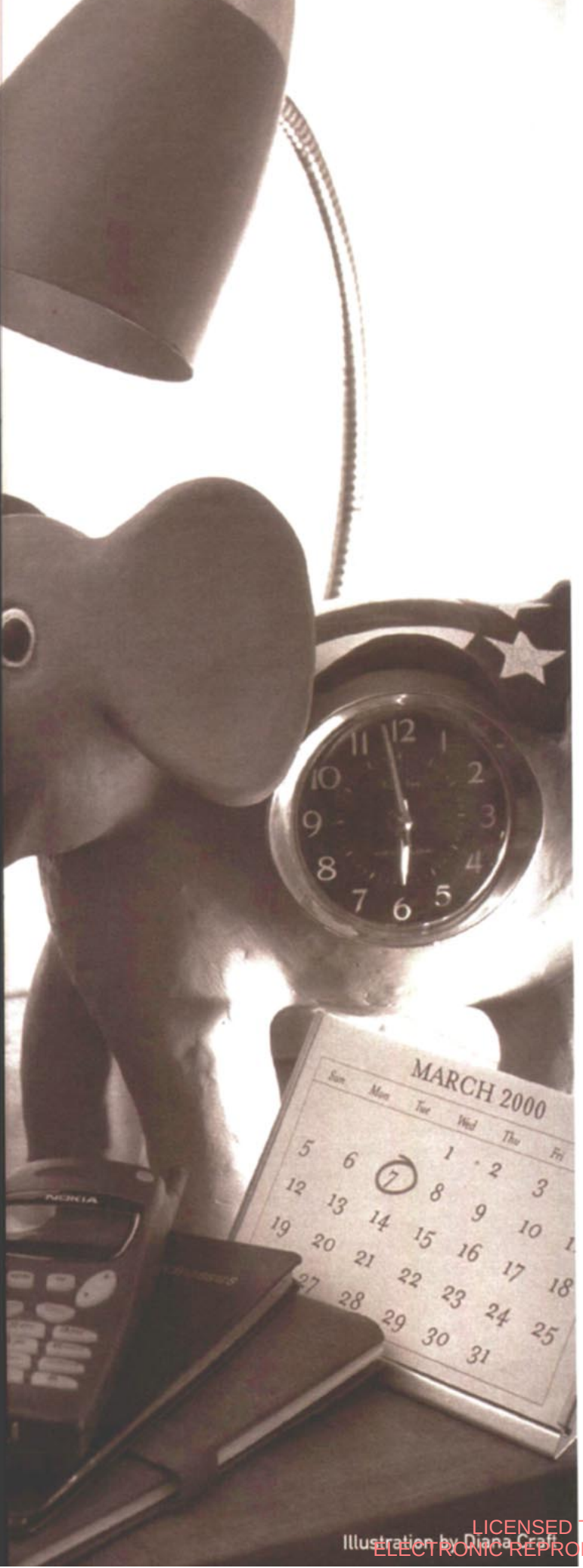

Illustration by Diana Graff

the California primary to the first Tuesday in March. Although the filing deadlines were adjusted to reflect the change, the campaign still has that "holiday panic" feel to it. A flurry of candidates entered (and, in some cases, exited) their races as the clock wound down to the filing deadline. A multimillion-dollar signature dash landed two referenda (Propositions 30 and 31) on the ballot after the qualification deadline for other types of ballot measures. And a comparatively mad dash through the courts wound up removing an initiative (Proposition 24) from the ballot the day before the voter pamphlet went to print.

With the Y2K hubbub now a memory, many campaign operatives will be in their hurry-up offense in the weeks leading up to Primary Day. Those who pause long enough to look around, however, will see themselves playing a part in an election that will likely shape the political landscape for the next decade.

Of the two political parties, the stakes are clearly highest for the Republicans. The last two election cycles have not been kind to the GOP in California. Its identification with a judgmental brand of social conservatism, epitomized by 1998 gubernatorial candidate Dan Lungren, chased moderate and minority voters away in sheets. Lungren suffered a 20-point pasting at the hands of moderate Democrat Gray Davis, and the Democrats built muscular majorities in both houses of the Legislature.

For much of 1999, it seemed the GOP still hadn't learned the lessons of 1998. Nationally, the U.S. House and Senate pressed ahead with an impeachment trial of President Bill Clinton despite catcalls from a public uncomfortable with Clinton but downright enraged at his congressional inquisitors. The party's new state chairman stuck an immediate pitchfork into the party's efforts to back away from its hard social line by telling a San Francisco Catholic magazine that "killing babies" — i.e., abortion rights — was the GOP's "issue of the century." And in Orange County, immigration hawks began talking up a sequel to Proposition 187, the 1994 anti-immigration initiative that drove an army of new Latino registrants into the arms of the Democratic Party.

Bankrupt financially and poised on the precipice of permanent minority status, the GOP in California waved the white flag, and was placed in a sort of political receivership. At the behest of presumptive GOP presidential nominee George W. Bush, state Senate Minority Caucus Chair Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga) was installed as the Grand Vizier of the GOP's 2000 campaign. The architect of the GOP's only successful legislative elections (in 1994), Brulte had already announced his intention to actively recruit and support minority candidates for legislative office.

With Brulte as the party's overall California strategist, Bush visited the state and wiped out the GOP debt with one fund raiser. Legislative recruitment efforts, hampered by the party's fiscal woes, began to pick up. Even the normally fractious Assembly Republicans buried their ideological litmus tests and actively recruited moderate candidates in

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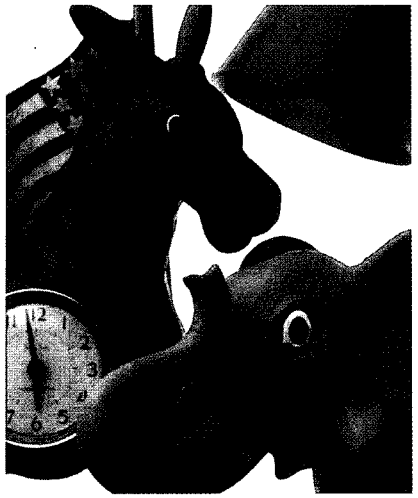
several swing districts. Though they suffered a major setback late last year when the state Supreme Court removed a GOP-backed redistricting initiative from the ballot (see page 66), Republicans in California believe they are positioned to, at a minimum, bail some of the water out of their leaking ship.



As masters of just about all they survey, Democrats would figure to have a relatively straightforward task: Stay on message and don't screw up. But a different set of variables has brought them decidedly back to earth as the primary approaches. The dominoes triggered by last year's election of Senator Joe Baca (D-Rialto) to Congress has endangered a Democratic swing district in Pomona. The post-impeachment recruitment of Senator Adam Schiff (D-Burbank) to run against Glendale Republican Representative James Rogan set off a chain reaction pitting Democrats Jack Scott and Scott Wildman against each other for Schiff's seat and puts the two Assembly seats beneath it in play for the GOP. Impolitic voting records will have Assembly Democrats Hannah-Beth Jackson of Santa Barbara and Alan Lowenthal of Long Beach sweating their re-election efforts.

Then there is the impact of term limits which, as usual, creates a packet of new open seats in both houses. Each party has seats it will have to work hard to defend this fall: for Democrats, the Stockton Assembly seat currently held by Mike Machado; for Republicans, the Silicon Valley seat of moderate Jim Cuneen. But the hottest battles are in seats that will likely not be competitive in the fall, and most of those are on the Democratic side. In Los Angeles County alone, there are 11 competitive Democratic legislative primaries — eight in the Assembly and three in the Senate. In the Marin County district vacated by termed-out Assemblywoman Kerry Mazzoni (D-San Rafael), no fewer than nine Democrats are vying for the seat.

Even California's congressional contests are feeling the effects of legislative term limits. The prospect of being able to settle in for a while no doubt helped House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Missouri) convince Schiff to make his run at Rogan, and helped lure Democratic Assemblyman Mike Honda to run for the San Jose seat vacated by U.S. Senate aspirant Tom Campbell. Term limits also gets part of the credit for emboldening state Senator Hilda Solis (D-El Monte) to launch an aggressive primary challenge to veteran Representative Matthew Martinez (D-Alhambra).

This spring's line-up of statewide ballot propositions is characteristically long and meaty. Most of the so-called "free" media — newspapers, television stations, etc. — will likely focus on Proposition 22, which bans gay marriages in California, and Proposition 1A, which is Round Two of the tribal gaming wars in the state. But the winner of the television advertising sweepstakes has already been crowned. Propositions 30 and 31, placed on the ballot with the help of a two-month qualification blitz, are referenda that seek to overturn two new insurance laws passed by the Legislature and signed by Governor Davis. Opponents of those laws, bankrolled largely by the insurance industry, have already spent more than $40 million on the campaign, and could double that by Election Day.

Also vying for public attention are major new bond proposals for parks, water, libraries and forensic laboratories, as well as campaign finance reform, a "none of the above" ballot option, and a proposal to reduce the vote threshold for local school bonds from two-thirds to a simple majority. The only other statewide contests this year are the presidential sweepstakes (see next story) and U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein's bid for a second full term (see page 10).

Whether their interest is in a candidate or an initiative, most of the state's political strategists will be watching demographic and registration trends that began in the mid- to late 1990s. Latinos continue to register in significant numbers, and will be further goosed by another significant registration drive this fall. As it has the last two cycles, the Legislature's Latino Caucus, led by state Senator Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles), will play an active role in a number of legislative races largely, though not entirely, on behalf of Latino candidates.

Also the target of ever-more attention from candidates and ballot campaigns is the growing mass of nonaligned voters. This year, for the first time since its inception, *California Journal* is listing "Decline to State" registration alongside that of Democrats and Republicans. The change reflects the growing influence of this swing electorate that, empowered by the state's open-primary law, could determine the outcomes of any number of close contests (see "The No-Party State," *California Journal*, December, 1999).

The biggest "X" factor in this year's primary is the impact of having an actual honest-to-goodness competitive presidential primary. Assuming the main challengers to party front-runners Al Gore and George W. Bush don't withdraw beforehand, the March 7 California primary is positioned to be a coronation for some, a coroner for others. A competitive Republican primary could draw out conservatives nonplussed by Bush, which could help Proposition 22. A strong challenge from former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley could draw out independent voters and Clinton-weary Democrats, aiding the bond and campaign-reform propositions.

All in all, an eventful election season lies ahead. Think of the pages that follow as your own personal catalog for the March primary. And don't procrastinate — Election Day will be here before you know it.

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U.S. President

(46%D-35%R-14%DS)

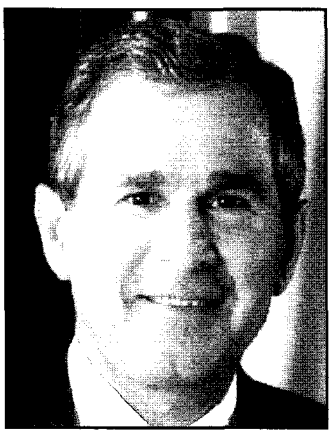
Democrats: Bill Bradley of New Jersey, Al Gore of Tennessee, Lyndon LaRouche of Virginia. Republicans: Gary Bauer of Virginia, George W. Bush of Texas, Steve Forbes of Washington, D.C., Alan Keyes of Virginia, Orrin Hatch of Utah, John McCain of Arizona. American Independent: Howard Phillips of Virginia. Libertarian: Harry Browne of Washington, D.C., Larry Hines, Dave Hollist and Kip Lee of California, L. Neil Smith. Green: Ralph Nader of Washington, D.C., Joel Kovel of California. Natural Law: John Hagelin of Iowa. Reform: John Anderson of Washington, D.C., Robert Bowman of Florida, Charles Collins of Georgia, Donald Trump of New York, George Weber of Missouri.

Two decades ago, the 1980 Republican presidential primary ballot in California included the name of maverick GOP Representative John Anderson of Illinois. A starchy precursor to H. Ross Perot, Anderson positioned himself as the pragmatic alternative to conservative front-runner Ronald Reagan. By the time the June primary rolled around in California, Reagan had the Republican nomination pretty much sewed up, and Anderson had pulled the trigger and declared himself an independent presidential candidate.

California voters were so late to the dance that one of the Republicans on their ballot wasn't even a Republican any more.

This year, Anderson's name is back on the California ballot, this time under the banner of Perot's Reform Party. But if he wants to pull the switcheroo on California voters again, he'll have to hurry, because this time, California is in the thick of it. Thanks to the ill-conceived presidential ambitions of former Governor Pete Wilson, California's primary is now defiantly placed one week before the vaunted "Super Tuesday" primaries on March 14. Along with 11 other states, including New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Missouri and Georgia, California now anchors the closest thing to a national primary under the current presidential nominating scheme.

In reality, the California presidential primary is actually two different primaries, though voters will only cast a single ballot. With the 2000 campaign looming on the horizon, the national leadership of both major political parties announced they would not seat California delegates chosen in the state's open primary. A 1998 ballot measure to close the presidential primary failed, forcing the parties to concoct an elaborate coding system: Open-primary totals will be tabulated *en masse*, but only partisan registrants who vote in their own party's primary will have their vote count toward the selection of the 434 Democratic and 162 Republican convention delegates.



Bush

Gore

Bradley

The candidates with the early, and surprisingly consistent, advantage in California through mid-January have been the two presumptive front-runners: Texas Governor George W. Bush for the Republicans, Vice President Al Gore for the Democrats. A Public Policy Institute of California survey conducted in early January showed Bush and Gore statistically tied in the open-primary "beauty contest," each pulling a little more than a quarter of the vote. Among Democrats, Gore leads former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley by more than two-to-one — 48 percent to 21percent. Bush's GOP lead is even larger: 56 percent of Republicans favor the Texas governor. His nearest rival, Arizona Senator John McCain, had 11 percent.

All four front-runners have signaled their intention to campaign vigorously for California's pot of delegate gold. Bush began putting together his California operation while he was still playing hard-to-get in the Texas statehouse. Bradley and McCain have not only made campaign trips to California, but each has signed up some heavyweight political strategists to manage their interests here. Gore has replaced President Bill Clinton as the White House's unofficial ambassador to California.

The candidates have also utilized California in its traditional role as the "automatic teller machine" of American politics, paying special attention this time out to Silicon Valley. As you might expect from a man who has raised about $70 million to date, Bush did well in the Valley. But the real surprise was Bradley, who not only cleaned up with high-tech contributors, but also has done well in the entertainment and athletic communities. He even got a little free publicity when he happened to be campaigning in Los Angeles on the day his

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old New York Knicks teammate, Phil Jackson, was named to coach the Lakers.

Gore hasn't exactly looked the part of the Democratic front-runner. He was badly out-raised by Bradley in Silicon Valley in 1999, and his fourth-quarter national totals were about half those of Bradley. Moreover, Gore's California campaign kicked off the new millennium by replacing its California campaign director and belatedly relocating the headquarters from Sacramento to Los Angeles. Bradley also had some bad luck in California: He was forced to cancel a Berkeley appearance after he experienced an irregular heartbeat.

McCain

Forbes

Given the importance they've placed on the state in the early going, and the fact that the Democrats allocate their delegates proportionately, it is likely that both Gore and Bradley will spend significant amounts of money and time in California, irrespective of what happens in New Hampshire. But the bifurcated primary system creates an interesting strategic dilemma for the two. With the national media looking to the state as an early pulse-touch of the candidates' "electability," the two may try to tack toward the middle to pick up decline-to-state voters and crossover Republicans. But if the objective is collecting delegates, the play would go to the more liberal Democratic base.

Bush's sizable lead in fund raising and public-opinion polls makes the prospect of an active Republican primary here a bit less certain. An all-out campaign in the most expensive media state in the nation would be a high-stakes gamble. Less well-financed contenders, such as Utah Senator Orrin Hatch, talk-show host Alan Keyes and even social conservative activist Gary Bauer, will likely pass on an active campaign in California and look for delegates in less-expensive states. Unless New Hampshire produces a dramatic shift of momentum in his direction, McCain may also think long and hard about a full-bore California effort, despite the presence of some veteran California hands in his campaign. The only Republican candidate with the financial wherewithal to go toe-to-toe with Bush in California is millionaire magnate Steve Forbes, who is self-financing his campaign.

One other candidate could conceivably pop up on television during the primary. Donald Trump is on the Reform Party ballot in California along with the aforementioned Anderson. While the Reform primary means nothing since candidates are chosen by a mail-in ballot, it's difficult to imagine "The Donald" passing up the ego rush that would come from campaigning here, especially since Reform Party rival Pat Buchanan will not be on the ballot. Other familiar names include consumer advocate Ralph Nader, back for his second run under the Green Party banner, and conspiracy theorist Lyndon LaRouche, running as a Democrat.

— Steve Scott

U.S. Senate

(46%D-35%R-14%DS)

Democrats: Incumbent Dianne Feinstein of San Francisco and Michael Schmier of Emeryville. Republicans: John Brown of Stockton, Tom Campbell of Campbell, Linh Dao of Fremont, J.P. Gough of Santa Ana, Ray Haynes of Riverside and Bill Horn of Valley Center. American Independent: Diane Templin of Escondido. Greens: Medea Benjamin of San Francisco and Jan Tucker of Toluca Lake. Libertarian: Gail Lightfoot of Pismo Beach. Natural Law: Brian Rees of San Luis Obispo. Reforms: Jose Camahort of San Jose and Valli Sharpe-Geisler of San Jose.

During the first half of the 1990s, the most omnipresent name at the top of a California ballot was that of Dianne Feinstein. Fresh from two tours as mayor of San Francisco, she began the decade by narrowly losing the governorship to then-U.S. Senator Pete Wilson in 1990. Two years later, she was back on the ballot where she pasted now-Governor Gray Davis in the Democratic primary and Wilson's appointed successor, John Seymour, in the general election to fill out the remaining two years of Wilson's U.S. Senate term. In 1994, Feinstein ran for a full, six-year term, this time eking out a narrow victory over millionaire Republican Michael Huffington in a campaign memorable for its cost, self-funding (Huffington spent $27 million of his own money) and invective. She took a breather in 1996 but very nearly appeared for a fourth time in 1998 when Democrats pressured her to run for governor. At the time, the field included Davis and gazillionaire Al Checchi. Davis didn't trouble her. But when she looked at Checchi, she saw Huffington and the possibility of another bruising campaign against yet another self-funded candidate with limited experience in the political arena. She dithered over her decision for almost a year before opting

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out in January 1998.

As she did in 1990, Feinstein begins the 'aughts at the top of a California ballot, seeking her second full term in the Senate. Unlike 1990, however, this campaign may not mark a beginning but an end. Feinstein will be 67 by the time Election Day rolls around in November, 73 when the new term expires in 2006. Thus, the 2000 election could be the last hurrah for one of California's most enduring public figures and the final time her name appears before voters.

Feinstein

For the 2000 campaign, however, Feinstein remains a formidable politician, one prominently mentioned as her party's vice presidential nominee. Her approval rating in polls hovers above 50 percent and her political profile mirrors that of the electorate. Long before Gray Davis reinvented himself as a centrist Democrat for the 1998 gubernatorial race, Feinstein laid claim to the political middle with her pro-choice, pro-death penalty, pro-gun control posture on litmus-test issues. She also has a solid and generous fund-raising base (figures for the last half of 1999 were not available at press time) and can expect to tout a large campaign treasury that she can hoard throughout a virtually uncontested primary.

With Feinstein as their foe, Republicans enter the 2000 campaign lacking the enthusiasm and optimism that characterized their drive two years ago to unseat liberal U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer, at the time regarded as the nation's most vulnerable Democrat. They entrusted that effort to former state Treasurer Matt Fong, whose unfocused campaign fell well short of dumping Boxer. Now, the GOP faces the demoralizing task of tackling a much stronger incumbent.

For Republicans, the slate of potential challengers is less than majestic. As its dismal showing in the 1998 election demonstrated (see *CJ*, December 1998), the party suffers from a lack of willing and viable statewide candidates, and 2000 has proved no exception. In fact, the list of those who gave only a fleeting thought — or no thought at all — to running is far more imposing than the cadre of those who filed. Congressmen Chris Cox and David Dreier are ensconced in House leadership. Former Governor Pete Wilson has retired to private life. Secretary of State Bill Jones and Insurance Commissioner Charles Quackenbush are focused on other races in 2002. To emphasize the point, the best-known – albeit, not the most popular – Republican aspirant was initiative maven Ron Unz, who bowed out of the contest in November after deciding to dedicate his time and money to his campaign-reform effort, Proposition 25 (see page 66).

Unz's departure left the GOP field to three candidates with campaign experience — maverick Bay Area Congressman Tom Campbell, conservative state Senator Ray Haynes and San Diego Supervisor Bill Horn — and a trio of political neophytes recognized by less than 1 percent of the electorate.

The front-runner is Campbell, a moderate Silicon Valley lawmaker with a gaudy resume and sometimes quirky ideas on such issues as tax policy and drug addiction. Campbell has served two different stints in the House of Representatives (1989-1992 and 1995-present). In between, he took up residency for half a term in the state Senate (1993-95).

This is the second time Campbell has sought his party's nomination to the U.S. Senate, and he finally will be able to run the kind of campaign he feels he was denied in his first go-around in 1992. Back then, he lost the GOP primary by some 30,000 votes to conservative television commentator Bruce Herschensohn, who subsequently lost to Boxer. Campbell, a pro-choice, pro-gun-control moderate, was an anathema to party conservatives, but at the time, Campbell blamed his failure on a third Republican in the race— the late Sonny Bono — who siphoned nearly 400,000 votes away from the two front-runners.

Campbell claimed, without much evidence, that Bono had cost him the nomination, and in March 1996, he took his revenge — not on Bono but on the system. Campbell was the prime motivator behind Proposition 198, which

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created the state's blanket primary. That law allows a voter to cast a primary ballot for any candidate regardless of party. It also allows independents to dabble in party primaries. As a result, Campbell is ideally positioned to attract just the kind of votes he feels could have gained him victory in 1992 — crossover Democrats and independents.

Although safely settled in his congressional district, Campbell was prompted to run for the Senate for professional as well as political reasons. A Stanford law professor since 1983, Campbell has been unable to teach more than one class a semester at the school's Washington, D.C., campus due to his congressional responsibilities. As a result, he was on the verge of losing tenure — the impact of which would be mollified with a seat in the Senate. If he loses the Senate contest, he will return full time to teaching and retain his tenured position. Either way, he is giving up his House seat.

Campbell brings a hefty professional and political resume to the fray, as well as several key advantages over his GOP rivals. A White House fellow in 1980, he later worked in several positions in the Reagan administration and owns a doctorate in economics from the University of Chicago and a law degree from Harvard. A moderate on social issues, he is poised to capture crossover votes from Democrats bored with their own primary. He also has some appeal to those conservatives who have choked on his past candidacies but who now view him as the most pragmatic nominee. They also are more impressed with his rightish stand on fiscal issues, including his call for replacing the national income tax with a national sales tax. He also enjoys a fund-raising boon because he is plugged into a generous constituency among Silicon Valley entrepreneurs. He had banked more than $1 million by July 1999, the last time campaign finance reports were issued for federal candidates (another report was due late last month). Unfortunately, many of those same donors have since signed on with Feinstein, thus Campbell faces the prospect of seeing a major funding source dry up after the primary.

The Palo Alto lawmaker is much better known than any of his GOP counterparts, although his name recognition pales compared with Feinstein's. A December 1999 Field Poll indicated that Campbell is known to 35 percent of the electorate. Horn is known to 19 percent of voters, while Haynes and banking consultant J.P. Gough weigh in with 12 percent. Among Republicans, only Campbell enjoys a positive favorable-to-unfavorable ratio. By contrast, fully 90 percent of the electorate knows Feinstein, and 52 percent view her favorably – including a quarter of Republicans polled.

Campbell

Haynes

Horn

As front-runner, Campbell has been targeted by Haynes and Horn, who are trying to tear away any conservative support. Even if they succeed, they likely will split that constituency. Both have hammered Campbell on his December proposal to give government-sponsored drugs to addicts in order to cut down on drug-related street crime and have tried to call attention to Campbell's support for abortion rights, government programs and campaign finance reform and his opposition to school vouchers and Proposition 187.

For his part, Campbell is making personal appearances and speaking out on issues in what had been, as of mid-January, a very low-key campaign. And however ferocious the attacks on Campbell's Republican credentials, both Horn and Haynes— not to mention Gough, John Brown and Linh Dao — suffer from a lack of meaningful cash. Unless one or more of them finds a mother lode, their efforts will be the political equivalent of a tree falling in a forest. What's more, they will have to convince a meaningful share of the Republican faithful that their party once again ought to throw in with a conservative white male who has virtually no chance to make even a credible showing against the Democratic nominee come November.

That task seems nearly as daunting as Campbell's should he win the primary, for in November he must convince a meaningful share of the California electorate that Dianne Feinstein ought to be retired from public office. The more likely scenario — barring some national economic disaster— is that, come January 2001, Dianne Feinstein will once again take the oath of office as a United States senator, while Tom Campbell dusts off his old chair at the Stanford School of Law.

— A.G. Block

Editor's Key: *On the following pages, California Journal offers its district-by-district analysis of all races for Congress, state Senate and Assembly. District contests considered "hot" races are marked with a flame. For the first time, we are also listing the percentage of "Decline-to-State" registered voters (DS) in each district, along with Democrats and Republicans.*

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Congressional Districts

DISTRICT 1 (47% D - 32% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Mike Thompson of St. Helena. Republicans: Russel J. "Jim" Chase of Willits, Kenneth A. Hitt of Fairfield, Lawrence R. Wiesner of Santa Rosa. Libertarian: Emil P. Rossi of Booneville. Natural Law: Cheryl Kreier of Lafayette. Reform: Pamela Elizondo of Laytonville.

Thompson

Hitt

Incumbent Mike Thompson has shown himself to be a smooth fit for a district often polarized by squabbles between timber industry workers and environmentalists, and as a result, Republicans aren't likely to make many inroads. Still, three GOP contenders are in the hunt, perhaps buoyed by the notion that Republicans and Democrats have traded this district for two decades. Businessman and engineer Kenneth Hitt, making his first run at public office, appears the most serious. He bills himself as a conservative with a Libertarian bent. Republican Jim Chase ran a quiet campaign in the last primary against fellow Republican and Napa County Supervisor Mark Luce, who then lost big to Thompson. Lawrence Wiesner, a certified public accountant, has been walking the district but doing little fund-raising.

DISTRICT 2 (38% D - 44% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Stan Morgan of Anderson. Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Chico. Libertarian: Charles R. Martin of Weed. Natural Law: John McDermott of Mt. Shasta.

Going for his eighth term, incumbent Wally Herger has a free ride in the primary. For Anderson City Councilman Stan Morgan to generate any heat this fall, the Republican Party would have to be facing wholesale disaster.

DISTRICT 3 (44% D - 39% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Bob Kent of Yuba City. Republican: Incumbent Doug Ose of Sacramento. Libertarian: Douglas Arthur Tuma of Antelope. Natural Law: Channing E. Jones of Berkeley.

Two years ago, moderate Republican Doug Ose was one of the first beneficiaries of the then-new blanket primary when he defeated conservative Barbara Alby in a race marked by crossover voting from Democrats and independents. Ose then took out Democrat Sandy Dunn in the finals for the right to succeed longtime area Congressman Vic Fazio, a Democrat who had decided not to seek re-election. That primary likely was Ose's toughest contest.

DISTRICT 4 (36% D - 47% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Mark A. Norberg of Roseville. Republican: Incumbent John T. Doolittle of Roseville. Libertarian: William Fritz Frey of Folsom. Natural Law: Robert E. Ray of El Granada.

The only time John Doolittle has a real fight with a Democrat is when neighboring Congressman Bob Matsui messes with him over the Auburn Dam.

DISTRICT 5 (54% D - 29% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Robert T. Matsui. Republican: Ken Payne. Green: Ken Adams. Libertarian: Cullene Lang. Natural Law: Charles Kersey. All of Sacramento.

The only time Bob Matsui has a real fight with a Republican is when neighboring Congressman John Doolittle pushes another "dam" bill.

DISTRICT 6 (54% D - 29% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lynn Woolsey of Petaluma. Republican: Ken McAuliffe of San Rafael. Green: Justin "Justo" Moscoso of San Rafael. Libertarian: Richard O. Barton of Inverness. Natural Law: Alan Barreca of Santa Rosa.

Easy street for incumbent Lynn Woolsey. On the Republican side, Ken McAuliffe is back for another try after getting trounced by Woolsey in 1998.

DISTRICT 7 (60% D - 22% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Concord. Republicans: Christopher A. Hoffman of Bay Point, Nicholas "Nick" Mraovich of Concord. Natural Law: Martin Sproul of Walnut Creek.

George Miller, a liberal with 13 terms under his belt, won the 1998 general election with 77 percent of the vote. Credible competitors shy away.

DISTRICT 8 (59% D - 13% R - 22% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi. Republican: Adam Sparks. Libertarian: Erik Bauman. Natural Law: David Smithstein. All of San Francisco.

How many districts can you name where decline-to-staters outnumber Republicans? Such is the fate of the Grand Old Party in San Francisco. Nancy Pelosi wins her seventh term. Oops. Did we kill the suspense?

DISTRICT 9 (65% D - 12% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Lee of Oakland. Republican: Arneze Washington of Oakland. Libertarian: Fred E. Foldvary of Berkeley. Natural Law: Ellen Jefferds of Berkeley.

Barbara Lee set off a barrage of falling dominoes two years ago when she abandoned her state Senate seat to win a special congressional election, replacing veteran Democrat Ron Dellums, who had resigned from the House. Lee's Senate vacancy was filled in a second special election by Assemblyman Don Perata. Finally, the special election to fill Perata's vacancy produced the state's first Green Party legislator—Audie Bock, who has since bolted her party and registered as an independent. And you thought Oak-

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land was dull come election time.

DISTRICT 10 (41% D - 41% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Ellen O. Tauscher of Pleasanton. Republicans: Gordon Blake of Brentwood, Claude B. Hutchison Jr. of Lafayette, Dennis M. Kilian of Alamo. Natural Law: Valerie Janlois of Danville.

Democrat Ellen Tauscher first won this seat in 1996 by defeating conservative Republican incumbent Bill Baker, who had represented the area in the Assembly and in Congress for more than 16 years. The issue was guns — Tauscher thought they ought to be controlled, Baker did not. Tauscher dedicated a generous slice of her family checkbook to defining the two candidates, and that was the end of Baker. Tauscher now is seeking her third term. Although a centrist Democrat in the Clinton mold, Tauscher represents a district with less-than-sterling registration figures, and this makes her a biennial target for Republicans. In addition, she is sitting on ground zero for Bay Area elections, given that her East Bay territory also will host blistering contests for the state Senate and Assembly. All this churning water will enliven Tauscher's re-election, and the GOP beneficiary likely will be Republican Claude Hutchison, chairman of the Contra Costa County Republican Party and a former bank executive who entered the race one day before the filing deadline. Hutchison has the Sacramento firm of McNally-Temple guiding his fortunes, which should give him a substantial edge over two business-minded rivals: conservative activist and entrepreneur Gordon Blake and corporate executive Dennis Kilian.

DISTRICT 11 (44% D - 44% R - 8% DS)

Democrats: Tom Y. Santos of Elk Grove, Robert L. Figueroa of Manteca. Republican: Incumbent Richard W. Pombo of Tracy. Libertarian: Kathryn A. Russow of Stockton. Natural Law: Jon A. Kurey of Stockton.

Last time, mortgage consultant Robert Figueroa breezed through the primary on his way to a November hog-tying by conservative cowboy Congressman Richard Pombo. This time, Figueroa will have to fight businessman Tom Santos for the privilege of a repeat performance.

DISTRICT 12 (53% D - 24% R - 18% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of San Mateo. Republicans: Bob Evans of San Francisco, Mike Garza of San Francisco, James D. Williams Jr. of Daly City. Libertarian: Barbara J. Less of Pacifica. Natural Law: Rifkin Young of San Francisco.

Incumbent Tom Lantos has been getting a lot of publicity of late, not because of his congressional service but because he is a Holocaust survivor. That, of course, doesn't explain why three GOP candidates are running in a district with almost as many decline-to-state voters as Republicans.

DISTRICT 13 (54% D - 25% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Fortney "Pete" Stark of Fremont. Republicans: Saundra Duffy of Hayward, James R. Goetz of Fremont. American Independent: Don J. Grundmann of San Leandro. Libertarian: Howard Mora of Fremont. Natural Law: Timothy R. Hoehner of Walnut Creek.

Pete Stark, the blunt-spoken dean of the Bay Area congressional delegation, remains unshakable in this East Bay district.

DISTRICT 14 (47% D - 32% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Anna G. Eshoo of Palo Alto. Republicans: Craig L. DeLue of Belmont, Henry E. (Bud) Manzler of San Jose, Bill Quraishi of El Granada. Libertarian: Joseph W. Dehn III of Stanford. Natural Law: John Black of Palo Alto.

Eshoo

Quraishi

This is not one of the safest Democratic seats in the Bay Area, but four-term incumbent Anna Eshoo makes it seem like it is.

DISTRICT 15 (44% D - 35% R - 16% DS)

Democrats: Mike Honda of San Jose, Dick Lane of San Jose, Robin Parker of Sunnyvale, Bill Peacock of San Jose, Connor Vlakancic of Los Gatos. Republican: Jim Cunneen of San Jose, Dale C. Mead of San Jose. Libertarian: Ed Wimmers of San Jose. Natural Law: Douglas C. Gorney of Oakland.

Honda

Cunneen

Republican incumbent Tom Campbell's announcement in November that he'll seek the GOP nomination for U.S. Senate set the stage for a pivotal showdown in his district. Democrats need five seats to regain majority control of the House of Representatives in the 2000 election, and the seat Campbell is surrendering can help shift the balance of power. With those stakes, everyone from President Bill Clinton on down got into the recruitment act. On the Republican side, Assemblyman Jim Cunneen, a moderate, pro-choice Campbell protégé, announced his candidacy early on. He is opposed by Dale Mead, who entered the race late. Cunneen's Assembly district includes nearly 60 percent of the registered voters in the congressional district and 68 percent of likely voters, according to his campaign releases. That kind of overlap caused one local Democratic organizer to dub Cunneen "the incumbent" in the race. He is also embraced by high-tech business leaders such as Infoseek Chairman Steve Kirsch, Applied Materials CEO Jim Morgan and Cisco Systems CEO John Chambers. Democrats, on the other hand, candidate-shopped for months, hoping to attract a heavyweight. To their dismay, they came up mostly empty. Among those who failed to show are former San Jose Mayor Susan Hammer, Santa Clara Mayor Judy Nadler and Assembly-woman Elaine Alquist. Even Norm

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Mineta, who held the seat for 20 years, before quitting mid-term, declined to run for his former post. Not that the Democratic slate is empty; five Democrats have filed, the best known being San Jose Assemblyman Mike Honda. Honda was deemed the most viable candidate by a Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee poll and is backed by House Democratic leaders. Honda even received phone calls from Clinton, House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt, and Representatives Patrick Kennedy, Robert Matsui and Zoe Lofgren, among others. The field is not cleared for Honda, however, who faces a challenge from Bill Peacock, a venture capitalist and former Carter administration Defense Department official who has put $500,000 of his own money into the race. Peacock has boasted that no one twisted his arm to run and appears ready to mount an aggressive campaign. He already has endorsements from San Jose Mayor Ron Gonzales and the Central Labor Council's political wing.

DISTRICT 16 (51% D - 27% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Zoe Lofgren of San Jose. Republican: Horace "Gene" Thayn of San Jose. Libertarian: Dennis Michael Umphress of San Jose. Natural Law: Edward J. Klein of Cupertino.

Another clear shot for Lofgren, who seeks her fifth term in this eastern Santa Clara County district.

DISTRICT 17 (51%D - 29% R - 14% DS)

Democrats: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel, Art Dunn of Monterey, Joe Grossman of Santa Cruz, Debra Whitmore of Aptos. Republicans: Carole Dooley of Carmel By The Sea, Clint Engler of Salinas, Rob Roberts of Salinas. Green: E. Craig Coffin of Pacific Grove. Libertarian: Rick S. Garrett of Aptos. Natural Law: Scott R. Hartley of Watsonville. Reform: Larry Fenton of Seaside.

Here's a poser. Sam Farr has been representing the Carmel area as a county supervisor, state legislator and congressman for more than two decades. Before that, his father was a popular state senator, so the entire family has a legacy of public service. Yet, Farr drew four challengers — in his own primary. Is this labor's revenge? Organized labor has been miffed at Farr for several years over his support for NAFTA, and several of his Democratic challengers are running to Farr's left. But it will be difficult for any of the more liberal Democrats to cut into his base, especially if they all are chasing the same cadre of voters. Retired social worker Joe Grossman bills himself as a pro-labor and pro-environment progressive Democrat who favors more federal spending on education. Perennial candidate Arthur Dunn says he runs primarily to put new and different ideas before voters. Debra Whitmore, a high school teacher who lists education as her highest priority, favors greater local control of schools and reallocation of federal dollars to the classroom — issues more suited to an Assembly race.

DISTRICT 18 (49% D - 36% R - 10% DS)

Democrats: Incumbent Gary A. Condit of Modesto, Rodger McAfee of El Nido. Republican: Steve R. Wilson of Oakdale. Natural Law: Page Roth Riskin of Watsonville.

For what it's worth, "Blue Dog" Congressman Gary Condit has drawn research director Rodger McAfee as a primary opponent.

DISTRICT 19 (41% D - 45% R - 10% DS)

Democrats: John S. Hernandez of Fresno, Dan Rosenberg of North Fork. Republican: Incumbent George Radanovich of Fresno. American Independent: Edmon V. Kaiser of Fresno. Libertarian: Elizabeth Taylor of Fresno. Natural Law: Bob Miller of Fresno.

Democrats are making up for not running anyone against George Radanovich in 1998 by slotting two this time. Given the GOP's strength in the district, Democrats would have been better off taking a cue from the Libertarians and drafting their own Richard Burton.

DISTRICT 20 (53% D - 33% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Cal Dooley of Visalia. Republican: Rich Rodriguez of Fresno. Libertarian: Arnold Kriegbaum of Reedley. Natural Law: Walter Kenneth Ruehlig of Antioch.

Nothing going on now, but check back in the fall. Having failed several times to unseat ag-friendly Cal Dooley, Republicans think they have the answer this year in Rich Rodriguez — a local news anchorman with strong name ID and an ethnic heritage appealing to the district's many Latinos. Dooley, however, isn't without his own friends in the Latino community, not to mention a few GOP farmers.

DISTRICT 21 (36% D - 49% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Pedro "Pete" Martinez Jr. of Porterville. Republican: Incumbent Bill Thomas of Bakersfield. Libertarian: James Manion of Inyokern.

With Democrats in charge of the Legislature and the governorship, Bill Thomas and other Washington, D.C. Republicans figured the only way to keep their party from being reapportioned off the California map following the 2000 U.S. Census was to put the state Supreme Court in charge of drawing district lines. They got their plan qualified for the March primary as Proposition 24, but then Chief Justice Ron George and Company tossed it off the ballot after Democrats complained the initiative violated the Constitution's single-subject rule by including a pay cut for state lawmakers. But Thomas can at least count on his own re-election this year, no matter what Pete Martinez has to say about the incumbent in this decidedly GOP seat.

DISTRICT 22 (40% D - 40% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lois Capps of Santa Barbara. Republicans: Allen Rowe of Paso Robles, Mike Stoker of Santa Maria. Libertarian: Joe Furcinite of Santa Maria. Natural Law: J. Carlos Aguirre of Laguna Niguel. Reform: Richard D. "Dick" Porter of San Simeon.

Incumbent Democrat Lois Capps beat conservative Republican and former Assemblyman Tom Bordonaro by a comfortable 10 percentage points two years ago after a grueling series of elections to replace Capps' husband, Walter, who had died. Bordonaro had won the GOP nomination by savaging moderate Assemblyman Brooks Firestone in the primary, but he proved

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Capps

Stoker

too conservative for the district, especially on the issue of abortion. Republicans don't want to make the same mistake this time around and so have thrown their weight behind former Santa Barbara Supervisor Mike Stoker, a fiscal conservative and social moderate who is pro-choice. Stoker's fiscal efficiency as a supervisor earned him *Governing* magazine's award for most valuable county official in 1993. He had previously planned to run against Walter Capps, but party officials snubbed him after Capps' death. This time, Stoker will enjoy all the backing he needs from the national GOP. Money from leadership has already started flowing his way, and before it's over the Stoker campaign will spend more than $1 million. Democrats, on the other hand, will give Capps whatever she needs to defend the seat, so look for fireworks all year long.

DISTRICT 23 (41% D - 40% R - 14% DS)

Democrats: Michael Case, Albert Maxwell Goldberg, both of Ventura. Republicans: Incumbent Elton Gallegly of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Roger Peebles of Simi Valley. Natural Law: Stephen P. Hospodar of Santa Barbara. Reform: Cary Savitch of Ventura.

Former *Playboy* centerfold Patricia McClain briefly, um, flirted with a primary run against Elton Gallegly, but her candidacy didn't materialize. Michael Case, a wealthy business attorney, is said to be willing to spend big to take out Gallegly in a district slowly becoming more moderate. He'll have little trouble with real estate broker Maxwell Goldberg, but the seven-term incumbent will be another story in November.

DISTRICT 24 (45% D - 37% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Brad Sherman of Woodland Hills. Republican: Jerry Doyle of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Juan Carlos Ros of Tarzana. Natural Law: Michael Cuddehe of Laguna Niguel.

The wonkish Brad Sherman was a GOP target his first two times out but looks to have an easier time of it in 2000. Former Doobie Brothers guitarist Jeff "Skunk" Baxter considered running as a Republican, but it just didn't work out. Too bad. Wouldn't you just love to have been at the GOP state convention when one of the party elders asked exactly what a "doobie" was?

DISTRICT 25 (38% D - 45% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Sid Gold of Granada Hills. Republicans: Incumbent Howard "Buck" McKeon of Canyon Country, Hal Brent Meyers of Lancaster. Libertarian: Bruce R. Acker of Chatsworth. Natural Law: Mews Small of Santa Monica.

Four-term incumbent Buck McKeon didn't even draw a Democrat last time out, but this year he does, plus token GOP primary opposition from Meyers, an income-tax consultant. Guess Meyers didn't like all those Republican flat-tax proposals.

DISTRICT 26 (59% D - 22% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Howard L. Berman of Mission Hills. Libertarian: Bill Farley of Sun Valley. Natural Law: David L. Cossak of Valley Village.

The homegrown feud that gave Howard Berman primary opposition from the mayor of San Fernando in 1998 has cooled, leaving Berman with a clear track to a 10th term.

DISTRICT 27 (44% D - 37% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Adam Schiff of Burbank. Republican: Incumbent James E. Rogan of Montrose. Libertarian: Ted Brown of San Gabriel. Natural Law: Miriam R. Hospodar of Santa Barbara.

The big national story in this contest is, of course, the Hospodar husband-and-wife campaigns in the Natural Law Party — Stephen running in the 23rd and wife Miriam running here. Oh, yes, come November there'll be a little thing happening between James Rogan and Adam Schiff with future control of the U.S. Congress possibly at stake. Schiff, a former L.A. County

Schiff

Rogan

prosecutor, gave up near-certain re-election to the state Senate to take on the conservative incumbent in a district that is hemorrhaging GOP registration as fast as any region in the state. Demographics are not all that make Rogan a target. The two-term incumbent became a lightning rod as a scowling inquisitor among the House prosecutors in President Bill Clinton's 1999 impeachment trial. The general election campaign has already begun, with Rogan traveling to Armenia, implicitly to court the district's large Armenian constituency, and Schiff-backers holding "Bedtime for Rogan" pajama parties in the district. Both are tough, talented campaigners, and each has already scored on the national fund-raising circuit, with Rogan attaining near-cult status among the GOP's conservative core. "Clinton Fatigue" and the success of the Bush campaign thus far have kept the GOP from hyperventilating quite as much as they did over this seat last year. Still, it is probably the most closely watched congressional contest in the nation — even without the Hospodar factor.

DISTRICT 28 (41% D - 41% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Janice M. Nelson of Sierra Madre. Republican: Incumbent David Dreier of Covina. American Independent: Joe "Jay" Haytas of Azusa. Libertarian: Randall G. Weissbuch of Arcadia. Natural Law: Lawrence Allison of Claremont.

As difficult a road as Rogan has, that's how easy the path to re-election will be for his powerful House GOP colleague David Dreier.

DISTRICT 29 (55% D - 24% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Henry A. Waxman of Beverly Hills. Republican: Jim Scileppi of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Jack Anderson of San Diego. Natural Law: Bruce Currivan of Irvine.

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Henry Waxman was anti-tobacco before it was fashionable, a fact that wins him plenty of friends in his Westside liberal base.

DISTRICT 30 (62% D - 18% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Xavier Becerra of Los Angeles. Republican: Tony Goss of West Hollywood. Libertarian: Jason E. Heath of Los Angeles. Natural Law: Gary D. Hearne of Culver City.

The big question surrounding incumbent Xavier Becerra does not involve 2000, but rather 2001. The four-term incumbent has announced that he is running for mayor of Los Angeles, a move that would put him into competition with an already sizable list of competitors, including outgoing Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. Like Villaraigosa, Becerra faces the challenge of running for mayor "from somewhere else." Villaraigosa's presence in the contest also forces Becerra to move beyond his natural base in the Latino community. Whatever his prospects are in the mayor's race, Becerra will have no problem keeping his place in the D.C. seniority list.

DISTRICT 31 (57% D - 23% R - 16% DS)

Democrats: Incumbent Matthew "Marty" Martinez of Alhambra, Hilda L. Solis of San Gabriel. Libertarian: Michael McGuire of Los Angeles. Natural Law: Richard D. Griffin of Claremont. Green: Krista Lieberg-Wong of Alhambra.

Martinez

Solis

The only serious primary competition faced by any incumbent in California this year is directed at Marty Martinez, the nine-term incumbent long regarded as one of the House's less-stellar members. Hilda Solis, the youngest woman and first Latina elected to the state Senate in 1994, is one of the Legislature's most tenacious supporters of organized labor, which has translated into a long list of labor endorsements, including the crucial L.A. County Federation of Labor, which broke its tradition of backing Democratic incumbents. Not only does she have the backing of her longtime ally, Supervisor Gloria Molina, but she also has been endorsed by a few lawmakers traditionally identified with Molina's rival, state Senator Richard Polanco. Solis also has done surprisingly well among local elected officials, who normally would be inclined to either stay out or back the incumbent. Five local mayors have come on board, including those of Baldwin Park, Monterey Park and San Gabriel. But the unkindest cut of all to Martinez is that his two longtime political patrons — representatives Howard Berman and Henry Waxman — are, so far, neutral in the race. Of course, an incumbent congressman still has plenty of arrows in his quiver, notably the incumbent-protection sensitivities of leadership. House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt is said to have personally intervened to get Solis to drop out of the race, but with Senate term limits prepared to claim her in 2002, it was up-or-soon-be-out for Solis. Martinez has faced primary battles before, most notably in 1992 when three different Democrats took a whack at him. He has survived, in part because of a stubborn loyalty extracted from voters. Solis also enjoys voter loyalty, and her San Gabriel Valley Senate district overlaps almost entirely the congressional district. With Solis providing the toughest primary challenge of Martinez's congressional career, he'll soon find out how much loyalty he still has in reserve.

DISTRICT 32 (72% D - 12% R - 11% DS)

Democrats: Incumbent Julian C. Dixon and Elisha Smitty Smith, both of Los Angeles. Republican: Kathy Williamson of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Bob Weber of Culver City. Natural Law: Rashied Jibri of Culver City.

In some years, the veteran Julian Dixon failed to draw even a Republican challenger. This time out, he's being heckled in the primary by labor consultant Elisha Smith. Although the challenger lacks the resources to crack the granite of an entrenched incumbent with a powerful local backing, the attempt shows that no one is sacred anymore.

DISTRICT 33 (68% D - 14% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard of Bell Gardens. Republican: Wayne Miller of South Gate. Libertarian: Nathan Thomas Craddock of Los Angeles. Natural Law: William Harpur of San Diego.

Lucille Roybal-Allard has become almost invincible in her East Los Angeles-Western San Gabriel Valley district.

DISTRICT 34 (60% D - 24% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Grace Flores Napolitano of Norwalk. Republican: Robert Arthur Canales of Whittier. Natural Law: Julia F. Simon of San Diego.

Grace Napolitano, a former assemblywoman, beat the odds and the power structure last time out with her primary victory over the chief aide of former incumbent Esteban Torres. Her reward is a safe seat.

DISTRICT 35 (75% D - 10% R - 9% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. Republican: Carl McGill of Inglewood. American Independent: Gordon Michael Mego of Hawthorne. Natural Law: Rick Dunstan of Walnut Creek.

A businessman from Walnut Creek filing to run against Maxine Waters. Now *there's* an optimist.

DISTRICT 36 (41% D - 39% R - 15% DS)

Democrats: James C. Cavuoto and Jane Harman, both of Torrance, Farshad Rastegar of Los Angeles. Republicans: Incumbent Steven T. Kuykendall of Torrance, Robert T. Pegram of Lomita. Libertarian: Daniel R. Sherman of Redondo Beach. Natural Law: Matt Ornati of Dana Point. Reform: John R. Konopka of Los Angeles.

For a while, it looked like freshman incumbent Steve Kuykendall faced a relatively easy run in this GOP-leaning but socially moderate coastal district, which includes L.A.'s beach cities. Though early-entrant James

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Cavuoto, who puts out several high-technology publications, committed $250,000 of his own money to the race, the district's demographics placed it somewhat low on the Democratic depth charts. But that changed as the GOP margin in the House kept shrinking. House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt managed to draw from semi-retirement the Democrats' biggest — and only — weapon: Jane Harman. The former congresswoman, who left the seat in 1998 for an ill-fated shot at the governorship, enjoys broad, favorable name recognition in the district and also has demonstrated willingness to spend big from her own family resources. Cavuoto didn't blink, and even secured the endorsements of some of the more liberal-leaning local Democratic clubs. But he'll have to spend awfully big to match Harman's deep pockets. As if Harman wasn't enough, Kuykendall also is being nipped at from the right by Pegram, a perennial candidate. He won't be much trouble for the incumbent in the primary, but, come fall, Kuykendall will get a contest worth his while.

DISTRICT 37 (72% D - 12% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Juanita Millender-McDonald of Carson. Republican: Vernon Van of Long Beach. Libertarian: Herb Peters of Carson. Natural Law: Margaret Glazer of Walnut Creek.

The thing is, all these Natural Law candidates are running so far away from home, they don't even get the thrill of seeing their names on the local ballot.

DISTRICT 38 (51% D - 32% R - 12% DS)

Democrats: Erin Gruwell, Peter Mathews and Gerrie Schipske of Long Beach, Ken Graham of Lakewood. Republican: Incumbent Steve Horn of Long Beach. Libertarian: Jack Neglia of Long Beach. Natural Law: Karen Blasdell-Wilkinson of Long Beach.

For a time last year, Democratic vultures were hovering around this Long Beach-based coastal district, which boasts among the highest Democratic registration of any district held by a Republican. Steve Horn, the incumbent who has kept his moorings with surprising ease thanks to a centrism almost tailor-made for the district, was reported to be mulling retirement amid some family health problems. A number of Democrats jumped in, but those given the best chance of knocking Horn off took a pass when it was clear he was running again. The race for the Democratic nomination boils down to a three-way battle including Peter Mathews and Gerrie Schipske, a nurse who narrowly missed beating then-Assemblyman Steve Kuykendall in 1996. Schipske, an open lesbian, has enjoyed considerable financial help from the gay and lesbian communities. But whomever survives the Democratic battle will find the favorable registration numbers cold comfort against Horn, especially with backlash over Clinton's impeachment trial fading as an election issue.

DISTRICT 39 (38% D - 45% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Gill G. Kanel of Fullerton. Republican: Incumbent Ed Royce of Fullerton. Natural Law: Ron Jevning of Tustin. Libertarian: Keith D. Gann of Cypress.

The only question here is the margin of victory for Ed Royce come November.

DISTRICT 40 (37% D - 45% R - 12% DS)

Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of Redlands. Libertarian: Jay Lindberg of San Bernardino. Natural Law: Frank N. Schmit of Aptos.

Democrats didn't even apply against veteran Jerry Lewis, who will win his 12th term in Congress. One party that did apply is the Natural Law, and its candidate — Frank N. Schmit — shares the prize for carpetbagger of the year (see CD 42 below). Schmit lives in Aptos in the Monterey-Carmel area, some 400 miles distant from this Inland Empire district.

DISTRICT 41 (39% D - 43% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Rodolfo G. Favila of Ontario. Republican: Anthony Ma of Yorba Linda and Incumbent Gary G. Miller of Diamond Bar. Natural Law: David Kramer of Chino Hills.

Two years ago, then-GOP Assemblyman Gary Miller performed the rare stunt of knocking off his own party's incumbent in the primary. Of course, that incumbent — Jay Kim — labored under a slight handicap; during the campaign, he was under house arrest in Washington, D.C., after a conviction for various campaign-law violations. Miller is back seeking his second term, and Anthony Ma won't repeat Miller's stunt.

DISTRICT 42 (52% D - 33% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Joe Baca of Rialto. Republicans: Jay Kim of Alta Loma and Elia Pirozzi of Rancho Cucamonga. Libertarian: Scott Ballard of San Bernardino. Natural Law: Gwyn Hartley of Watsonville.

Every election season, Democratic incumbent George Brown Jr. was near the top of Republican target lists, and every election, he squeaked through to victory. Now, for the first time since 1972, crusty, liberal, vulnerable, unbeatable George Brown is gone, having died last summer at age 79. This is both good news and bad news for the GOP. The good news: Brown won't be around to frustrate Republican ambitions. The bad news: Brown's successor, Democrat Joe Baca, fits the blue-collar, conservative district much better than did Brown and likely won't be anywhere near the target list. Baca's relative safety notwithstanding, Brown's death set off a chain reaction that has reverberated all through the Inland Empire ballot. Baca won a special election to replace Brown, defeating Brown's widow, Marta, in an acrimonious primary before dispatching Republican Elia Pirozzi in a November run off. Baca's victory created a vacancy in his 32nd Senate District, and Democratic Assemblywoman Nell Soto leaped into that race, placing her 61st Assembly District at risk for Democrats. While fires heat up for Democrats elsewhere in the region, they are a sideshow in this primary thanks to the dust up on the Republican side. Pirozzi is back for his third try, having previously lost to both Brown and Baca. But it is his primary opponent who raises eyebrows. Yes, Virginia, the Jay Kim listed as a Republican candidate for Congress is the same Jay Kim men-

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tioned in the previous district, the same Jay Kim convicted of campaign-law violations and placed under house arrest during his 1998 re-election campaign. He's back, hoping to win the primary, which will earn him the opportunity to lose to Baca in November. And yes, the fact that he represented another district as little as two years ago means that he is not a longtime resident of this district. Pirozzi waged a good fight against Baca in the special election and likely will dispatch Kim in the primary, but the special may have been his best shot for a trip to Washington. GOP registration has ebbed over the decade — from a high of 39 percent in 1992 down to its current 33 percent level — and Republicans can find better opportunities.

DISTRICT 43 (36% D - 48% R - 11% DS)

Republicans: Incumbent Ken Calvert, Martin Collen and Khalid Jafri, all of Riverside. Libertarian: Bill Reed of Perris. Natural Law: Nat Adam of Irvine.

Four-term incumbent Ken Calvert rarely has an easy time during election season. He barely defeated Democrat Mark Takano in his first election (1992), then nearly lost the GOP primary two years later to conservative Joseph Khoury after becoming embroiled in a scandal involving a prostitute. Plus, he fought off primary challenges in 1996 and from Khoury again in 1998. Democrats have faded from the scene in this Riverside district, but the moderate Calvert continues to be bedeviled by Republican contenders from the right. This year, his principal challenge comes from Martin Collen, a pro-life physician who has picked up where Khoury left off. Collen, who is virtually unknown in the district, self-funded to the tune of $50,000 early in the campaign and takes heart from a poll showing voters unhappy with the incumbent. But Collen faces an uphill struggle. His only foray into elective politics — a school board run a few years ago — ended in failure. In addition, the third Republican candidate — Khalid Jafri — shares the same conservative, pro-life, pro-term limits base. And although Jafri plans virtually no campaign, he will draw strength away from Collen, who will need every vote to unseat an incumbent.

DISTRICT 44 (40% D - 45% R - 10% DS)

Democrats: Jon Gordon of Palm Springs, Tom Harney of Palm Desert, Ron Oden of Palm Springs and Doug Wofford of Thousand Palms. Republicans: Incumbent Mary Bono of Palm Springs and Bud Mathewson of Banning. Natural Law: Jim Meuer of Rancho Mirage. Reform: Gene Smith of Rancho Mirage.

Rarely does an incumbent draw so many challenges from both parties, but Mary Bono has yet to establish enough strength to preempt these kinds of confrontations. Not that all this activity poses a threat to her career. Bono, of course, was elected to Congress in a special 1998 election to replace her late husband, Sonny, after the entertainer-turned-lawmaker was killed in a skiing accident. She became a celebrity in her own right immediately after arriving in Washington, but that didn't stop a large field from taking her on in the 1998 primary, where she captured 90 percent of the vote in a four-person GOP field, then dispatched actor Ralph "Papa Walton" Waite in the general election. The cast of characters in 2000 is relatively the same. Bud Mathewson managed 3 percent of the vote against Bono two years ago, and he could improve his performance by several thousand percent and still lose. The Democratic field bears note for only one reason: attorney Tom Harney ran in the '98 primary as well, as a Republican, finishing 1 percent ahead of Mathewson.

DISTRICT 45 (31% D - 49% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Ted Crisell of Huntington Beach. Republicans: Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher of Huntington Beach, Long K. Pham of Newport Beach. Natural Law: Constance Betton of Newport Beach. Libertarian: Don Hull of Costa Mesa.

Throughout the last half of 1999, this was where observers thought former Congressman Bob "B-1" Dornan would resurface after two big losses to Democrat Loretta Sanchez of Santa Ana. Although Dornan threatened publicly to run against popular incumbent Dana Rohrabacher, he never filed. Expect the Rohrabacher re-election machine to roll like the waves lapping at the GOP's safe shores.

DISTRICT 46 (46% D - 35% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Loretta Sanchez of Santa Ana. Republicans: Gloria Matta Tuchman of Santa Ana, Howard Garber of Anaheim. Natural Law: Larry Engwall of Santa Ana. Libertarian: Richard B. Boddie of Huntington Beach.

Sanchez

Tuchman

Speaking of incumbent Loretta Sanchez, she will emerge unscathed from the primary only to face a genuine general-election fight with educator Gloria Matta Tuchman, who in 1998 failed to unseat Delaine Eastin as state schools chief. But Tuchman, a major proponent of anti-bilingual-education's Proposition 227, would need to capture the Hispanic vote in the cities of Santa Ana, Garden Grove and Anaheim, where Sanchez' last opponent — that's right, B-1 Bob — turned voters off to the Republican Party by making allegations of Latino voter fraud. Dornan die-hards still have hope — his son, Mark, is running in the South County's 48th District.

DISTRICT 47 (29% D - 53% R - 14% DS)

Democrats: Iris Adam of Irvine, John Graham of Irvine, Jim Keysor of Laguna Woods, Don Irvine of Irvine, Maziar Mafi of Laguna Beach. Republican: Incumbent Christopher Cox of Newport Beach. Libertarian: David F. Nolan of Lake Forest.

Though his district straddles the two feuding factions in the El Toro Marine Corps airport battle, and even though his report on Chinese espionage has taken some hits, Christopher Cox won't be sweating the general election results next November.

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DISTRICT 48 (27% D - 53% R - 15% DS)

Democrats: Peter Kouvelis and Richard K. Maguire, both of Dana Point. Republicans: Kim DeBow of Oceanside, Mark Dornan of San Juan Capistrano, William D. Griffith of Oceanside, Darrell Issa of Vista, James Luke of Temecula, Kevin M. Mahan of Valley Center, Eddie Mayerhofer of Mission Viejo, Bill Morrow of Vista, Joe Snyder of Capistrano Beach and Don Udall of Newport Beach. Libertarian: Joe Michael Cobb of Dana Point. Natural Law: Sharon K. Miles of Laguna Niguel. Reform: Eddie Rose of Laguna Niguel.

Issa

Morrow

Udall

When veteran incumbent Ron Packard decided not to seek a 10th term in Congress, he launched a local version of the Oklahoma land rush among his fellow Republicans. Ten of them eventually filed, although the field nearly swelled to 15 before several political notables decided to sit it out. Among those who stayed on the sidelines were San Diego Mayor Susan Golding, Assemblyman Bruce Thompson, San Diego County Supervisor Bill Horn and former Congressman Bob Dornan. Although the field still is enormous, three candidates quickly floated to the top of the pack by dint of experience, name recognition and cold, hard cash. All three embrace conservative issues. The early frontrunner is Darrell Issa, the car-alarm magnate who came within 5 percentage points of winning the GOP nomination for U.S. Senate in 1998 — a contest he lost to Matt Fong, who then lost to incumbent Democrat Barbara Boxer. More significant, Issa defeated Fong by some 21 points in this, his home congressional district. Fong has since endorsed Issa for Congress. As a result of his Senate gamble, Issa enjoys wide name recognition — an advantage he couples with a large bank account and a demonstrated willingness to self-fund a campaign. Issa has budgeted some $750,000 for the primary and already had launched an absentee-vote effort before the end of 1999. He also was up on local cable TV before the end of the year — a campaign tactic that mirrored his early-and-often TV presence in 1998. That Senate campaign dredged up some negative publicity for Issa, however, much of it pegged to his business practices and his 10-year record in the military. He also rankled some local Republicans with unflattering remarks about Dornan, but the race remains his to lose. Although Dornan eventually opted out, the name will grace the primary ballot thanks to his son, Mark,

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who vaulted to the top tier of candidates by virtue of his name and his father's large fund-raising base. Although Dornan worked on his father's campaigns, the 40-year-old teacher has never run for office himself and only recently moved into the district from Los Angeles — an uncanny repetition of his father's migration from LA to Orange County prior to winning a congressional seat in 1984. The third prominent contender is state Senator Bill Morrow, whose legislative district overlaps much of the congressional district. Morrow, too, enjoys solid name recognition because he has represented the area since 1992 when he was first elected to the Assembly. He is in the middle of his first Senate term and can make this race without putting his state career at risk. Morrow's base is Oceanside in San Diego County, which supplies the district with fewer than half its registered voters. The biggest chunk of voters live in Orange County, with a smidgeon in Riverside County, but Morrow is well known on both sides of the county line. Morrow's problem may be money. He's never been known in legislative circles as a prodigious fund raiser and now must raise campaign cash under the restraints imposed by federal contribution limits. As for the rest of the GOP field, any dark horse would require a miracle and heavy influx of cash to climb over the front-runners. Contractor James Luke and electrician James Mayerhofer both challenged Packard in 1998, winning 10 and 6 percent of the vote, respectively — not exactly a base upon which to build a cash-short campaign. The most intriguing Republican not named Issa, Dornan or Morrow, however, is Donald Udall, a urologist related to the politically omnipresent Udall clan of Arizona. He is a first cousin to Stewart and the late Mo Udall, brothers who served in Congress as Democrats. Stewart Udall also was John F. Kennedy's secretary of the interior, while Mo once ran for president. Politically, Udall is a Packard clone — fiscally conservative, socially moderate. He has a targeted budget of $300,000 but had raised only $25,000 by mid-January. Among the other Republicans, attorney Kevin Mahan has a small following because of a weekly radio talk show. "Kev, the country lawyer." Kim LeBow is an African-American woman running a patriotic theme and touting her husband's service in the Navy and her late father-in-law's role as a World War II pilot with the Tuskegee Airmen. Finally, Joe Snyder is a retired colonel in the Marine Corps who owns a consulting business, and William Griffith is a math teacher. On the Democratic side, the leading contender is Peter Kouvelis, a retired Marine from Dana Point who promises a spirited campaign. Spirit, however, won't be enough in a district where only 27 percent of voters consider themselves Democrats.

DISTRICT 49 (39% D - 38% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Susan A. Davis of San Diego. Republican: Incumbent Brian P. Bilbray of Imperial Beach. Libertarian: Doris Ball of San Diego. Natural Law: Tahir I. Bhatti of San Diego.

Most of the action in this race — and there will be plenty of it — will take place in November when Democratic Assemblywoman Susan Davis, who is termed out, takes on three-term incumbent Republican Brian Bilbray. Even though neither candidate has a primary challenge, the open primary is important as a test of electoral strength heading into the fall. Bilbray is seen as vulnerable over his vote to impeach President Bill Clinton last summer. But the incumbent has beaten back strong challenges in the past, most recently a 1998 squeaker over San Diego City Councilwoman Christine Kehoe, who is running for Davis' Assembly seat. The overlap between this race, Kehoe's effort, and the state Senate contest between incumbent Dede Alpert and former Senator Larry Stirling promises to churn the political waters all through this part of San Diego County.

DISTRICT 50 (49% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Bob Filner of San Diego. Republicans: Bob Divine, James Allen Good and Alexander Sorongon, all of Chula Vista. Libertarian: David A. Willoughby of San Diego. Natural Law: Leeann S. Kendall of San Diego.

Unlike previous elections, Democratic incumbent Bob Filner isn't getting a free ride from Republicans this time around. Three candidates jumped into the fray for the chance to take him on in November. Only one of those Republican hopefuls has much of a track record, however. Bob Devine, a member of the San Diego County Central Committee, has lined up most of the GOP establishment endorsements and a position on all area slate mailers. Devine, a retired naval officer, has run in the two most recent elections, losing a 1996 Assembly race to Democrat Denise Ducheny and a 1998 state Senate contest to Democrat Steve Peace. His performance in both those races was lackluster, lagging well behind GOP registration. A moderate who backed former Assemblyman Brooks Firestone's insurgent campaign for state GOP party chairmanship last fall, Devine assumes frontrunner status due to three decades of involvement with the local Republican Party and to the fact that neither of his primary opponents has run for office. Alexander Sorongon, who is Filipino, could draw some strength from the district's sizeable Filipino population.

DISTRICT 51 (30% D - 49% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: George "Jorge" Barraza of Bonsall. Republican: Incumbent Randy "Duke" Cunningham of Escondido. Libertarian: Daniel L. Muhe of Carlsbad. Natural Law: Eric Hunter Bourdette of Solana Beach.

Randy Cunningham, now in his fifth term, occasionally says or does things that cause his constituents acute embarrassment. But none of those incidents will derail his election to a sixth term come November.

DISTRICT 52 (37% D - 43% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Craig Barkacs of San Diego. Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of La Mesa. Libertarian: Michael Benoit of Santee. Natural Law: Robert A. Sherman of Del Mar.

Very safe Republican territory for Duncan Hunter, who has been in the House since 1980.

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The age of do-it-yourself redistricting

by Susan Rasky

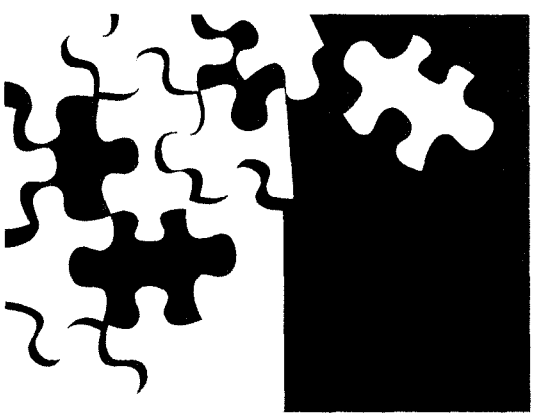
Coming soon, to a Web page or a CD-rom near you, is a collection of carefully interwoven demographic and electoral statistics the California Legislature will use to redraw the state's political map. It is known as the Statewide Database.

Boot-up any of at least three commercially available and relatively inexpensive map-making programs; plug in numbers from the database, which is free and has never before been publicly distributed, and *voila!* Do-it-yourself California redistricting.

It's not quite that simple, but it's simple enough — for lobbyists, interest groups, ethnic coalitions and anybody else with a stake in the makeup of Congress or the Legislature over the next decade. For political junkies and other masochists who find this sort of pastime amusing, one ambitious Internet entrepreneur has already incorporated mapping programs in a subscription Web site that will launch this summer at, what else, www.gerrymander.com.

For politicians who hold or wish to hold office at the local level, in the Legislature or particularly in the California congressional delegation, the advent of the new, almost user-friendly redistricting software could not be more timely.

Thanks to term limits, the political boundaries that matter to an officeholder are no longer those of the seat he or she temporarily occupies. The boundaries that really matter are those for the seat he or she covets when the current holder's term expires.



Congressional seats, which, of course, have no term limits, may be the biggest prize, but they are by no means the only object of desire. Termed-out legislators now look both up *and* down the electoral ladder for their next jobs. And that means lawmakers once content to rubber stamp a redistricting plan in which the Assembly, state Senate and congressional delegation each took care of its own members may not be so obliging this time around. To complicate matters, next year's redistricting process will lack a political enforcer. The Democrat who comes closest to filling that role is Senate President Pro Tempore John Burton, whose 35-year career includes service in the Assembly and Congress. Although he is a consummate inside player widely respected in both legislative chambers and on both sides of the aisle, Burton lacks the attention to detail and the overbearing temperament that enabled his late brother, Congressman Philip Burton, to commandeer the process in the 1970s and 1980s.

Furthermore, Burton's term expires in 2004, which makes him something of a lame duck. Newly annointed Assembly Speaker Robert Hertzberg (D-Sherman Oaks), whose term expires in 2002, has a reputation as a data -driven politician, but he will be a *very* lame duck in the fall of 2001 when the final crunch on redistricting occurs.

All of which raises the delicious prospect of 120 antsy state legislators and 52 nervous Congressional incumbents running merrily amok — each one able to draw and quickly redraw not just his own ideal, safe district, but also endless variations of the state's entire political map. And that's without even considering the mechanics of a partisan gerrymander.

That task, particularly for the congressional delegation, presumably would fall to Michael Berman, the brilliant but reclusive political tactician who learned his craft at the knee of Phil Burton 30 years ago. Berman, whose older brother Howard is an eight-term congressman from the San Fernando Valley, is expected to be hired as a reapportionment consultant to the Democratic leadership in the state Senate and the Assembly, according to sources in both chambers.

Most of the heavy carving and rearranging in California will involve the congressional districts, and the early reapportionment calculations go something like this: California's 52-member delegation is likely to grow by two, and perhaps three, new seats, reflecting the shift in national population from states in the Northeast to those in the South and West. Census figures on which the congressional reapportionment is based will not be available to the states until spring 2001, but that hasn't stopped the pros from doing a little back-of-the-envelope political arithmetic.

"I figure about a 10-seat shift on the natural from Democrats to Republicans," said GOP reap-

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by Susan Rasky

portionment expert Tony Quinn, who expects the new Republican seats will be in Florida, Texas, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, and possibly Georgia. As a result, Quinn argues, the onus will be on California, the only major state in the country where Democrats control the governorship and both houses of the Legislature, to make up the lost seats and help deliver the House of Representatives into Democratic hands once again.

"The problem for Republicans in California is not reapportionment," Quinn observed. "It's that they can't get people to vote for them."

If California's allotment is two additional Congressional seats, the new districts are likely to be in the Inland Empire and the Central Valley. A three-seat allotment, which is possible if this year's census does a good job of locating hard-to-count immigrant and homeless population groups, would mean an extra seat in the Los Angeles County area. Democrats who follow reapportionment say the more likely scenario is a two-seat gain for the state.

What happens in the redistricting that will follow depends to some extent on the outcomes of races this year for four key congressional seats currently occupied by Republicans: Brian Bilbray's 49th CD, Steve Kuykendall's 36th CD, James Rogan's 27th CD, and the 15th CD, which Tom Campbell is vacating to run for the U.S. Senate.

Each seat Democrats pick up means another Democratic incumbent to protect, or placate, when the new lines are drawn next year. Conversely, if Republicans hold the seats, Democratic mapmakers will have more flexibility in collapsing districts and rearranging boundaries to their own party's advantage.

To underscore that point, Quinn says he could easily take the current delegation map and carve 10 new Democratic congressional districts thusly:

- In San Diego by redrawing the seat Bilbray holds;
- In the Riverside area, which has had enough population growth to become California's new 53rd CD;
- In the Los Angeles area where collapsing and rearranging districts that now belong to Rogan, Kuykendall, and fellow Republicans Steve Horn, Gary Miller and David Dreier would yield five new seats;
- In the southern part of the Bay Area by reconfiguring the district Campbell now represents and in the process of carving the new district, adding more Democratic territory to Ellen Tauscher's 10th CD;
- In the Sacramento Valley by taking Democrats from districts represented by Republicans John Doolittle, Doug Ose, Richard Pombo and Wally Herger and carving a new 54th CD;
- And finally, in the lower San Joaquin Valley around Bakersfield, through a somewhat inelegant merging of Democratic enclaves in Republican Bill Thomas' district with Democrats in Ventura, across the mountains to the west.

Republican political consultant Joe Shumate, who says Quinn has it about right, adds that if pressed, he could squeeze out as many as 12 new Democratic congressional districts, although many of them would be far more competitive than Democrats might like. Whether Shumate and Quinn could be quite so prolific if they were creating new Republican seats is another matter. Since they won't have that opportunity, painting the most extreme version of a Democratic redistricting plan has advantages. It keeps Republican interest groups agitated and helps raise the money that will be needed to finance court challenges or a referendum campaign to block it.

"I think a referendum is almost impossible because of the timing," said Shumate, ticking off a host of legal and logistical problems to that approach. ``Besides, what if the Democrats in the Legislature are able to get this through with a two-thirds vote — then it would be unreferendable."

Lest any ambitious Democrat get too excited about custom-sculpting new congressional seats, UC Berkeley political science professor Bruce Cain offers a word of caution. "The greatest gerrymander in California's recent history changed five to six seats, and Phil Burton had to go across the San Francisco Bay and under Long Beach Harbor to do it," said Cain, who directs Cal's Institute of Governmental Studies, where the Statewide Database is maintained.

Democrats in the Legislature are reluctant to speak publicly about redistricting plans other than to note that recent U.S.Supreme Court decisons and the risk-averse tendencies of all incumbents will put the brakes on a Phil Burton-style gerrymander. Several, who asked that their names not be used, suggested that Governor Gray Davis, ever vigilant about his centrist image, will balk at too lopsided a plan.

Quinn found that notion laughable, noting among other things that no less a centrist than GOP Governor Earl Warren signed a highly partisan plan in 1951. "In researching 50 years of redistricting," Quinn chortled, "I have never come across a governor who said, 'I can't sign that bill because it's too partisan in favor of my own party.'"

Contributing Editor Susan Rasky teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism. The views expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the California Journal.

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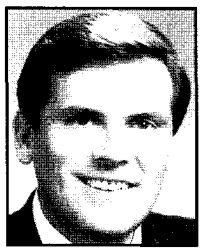
State Senate Districts

DISTRICT 1 (36% D - 45% R - 13% DS)

Democrats: Merita A. Callaway of Avery, Scott Gruendl of Chico, Thomas Romero of Loomis. Republicans: Mary Andrews of Chico, R.K. "Skip" Daum of Truckee, Karen Knecht of Grass Valley, Thomas "Rico" Oller of San Andreas. Libertarian: Jon Petersen of Grass Valley.

Daum


Oller

What do you get when you toss two attack dogs into the same small ring? We'll never really know because the untimely death last October of former Assemblyman Bernie Richter short-circuited a primary clash with conservative Assemblyman Rico Oller. Richter and Oller had been sniping at each other for more than a year, and both had anticipated spending as much as $1 million on the effort to succeed termed-out Republican Tim Leslie. After Richter's death, Oller's $900,000 war chest — more than half from his own wallet — didn't deter three new GOP candidates from jumping into the race. They'll have to work overtime to catch up to Oller's edge. In addition to a large cache, Oller sports endorsements from some 20 county supervisors, six county sheriffs and a number of city council members, many obtained immediately after Richter passed from the scene. Oller also has endorsements from Leslie, Congressman John Doolittle and Assemblyman Sam Aanestad. "Skip" Daum, a Capitol lobbyist who is the latest to enter the race, hopes to fill the void left by Richter. With Richter's former campaign manager, George Osborn, in hand and enough personal wealth to front himself as much as $200,000, Daum is hoping to capture the moderate vote and lure crossover Democrats and independents, no mean feat in a district that hews to the right. Daum has been successful at raising money, reporting $370,000 in the first five weeks after announcing his candidacy. Two-term Nevada County Supervisor Karen Knecht has already secured a $100,000 loan and raised nearly $30,000 more. Knecht bills herself as a fiscal conservative and social moderate with a concern for fiscal problems facing local governments. She will have to compete for the same votes as Daum, ceding the hard right to Oller. Mary Andrews, a former League of California Cities president and 14-year veteran of the Chico City Council, is also a contender. She operates both a hair salon and a real estate business but has showed little inclination for fund raising. As for the Democrats, March is likely to provide his or her only victory of the year.

DISTRICT 3 (55% D - 20% R - 18% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent John L. Burton of San Francisco. Republican: Terence Faulkner of San Francisco. Natural Law: Celeste Joy Blau Joki of San Rafael.

John Burton's political career began more than a quarter century ago with his 1974 election to the Assembly. He served in Congress and both houses of the Legislature and currently is Senate president pro tempore. Thus, the 2000 election is notable for one factor — because of term limits, it will mark the last time Burton is able to run for the Legislature. And it will end a political dynasty that began when Burton's brother, Phil, first captured an Assembly seat in 1956.

DISTRICT 5 (45% D - 42% R - 9% DS)

Democrat: Michael J. Machado of Linden. Republicans: James Shoemaker and Alan Nakanishi, both of Lodi. Libertarian: Carole Brow of Clements. Natural Law: William S. Nicolas of Stockton.

Republicans can forget about retaking the state Senate this year, but they can build for the future, and this seat — covering most of San Joaquin County and the southern portion of Sacramento County — is one they desperately want. Registration has been trending the GOP's way throughout the '90s, and now that moderate Democrat Pat Johnston is stepping down because of term limits, Republicans feel they can wrest this one away. GOP leaders' first candidate of choice was Stockton Mayor Gary Podesto, but Podesto reportedly turned down the caucus, blank check and all. Instead, Lodi Councilman Alan Nakanishi stepped up to the plate, pledging to get past the grass-roots campaign of conservative businessman James Shoemaker in the GOP primary. Nakanishi ran for the GOP nomination in the 10th Assembly District in 1998, coming in second to Anthony Pescetti, who went on to win the seat in November. Shoemaker — a GOP Central Committee member and officer of the conservative California Republican Assembly — supported Nakanishi in his Assembly bid and his subsequent run for the Lodi City Council. But now Shoemaker is opposing Nakanishi, saying the first-term councilman broke his vow not to run for any other seat once he made it onto the council. In addition to garnering the endorsement of Senate Minority Leader Ross Johnson, Nakanishi is backed by Board of Equalization Member Dean Andal, an influential GOP figure in the region, and Congressman Richard Pombo. Meanwhile, Assemblyman Mike Machado — a conservative Democrat well known in the San Joaquin County portion of the district and well regarded by many, including Republicans — gets a free ride in March. As of the December reporting period, Machado — a bulldog fundraiser — had $1 million cash-on-hand, and he'll likely need most of it since the fall campaign is expected to be one of the most expensive this year.

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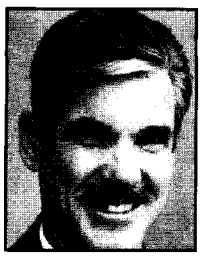
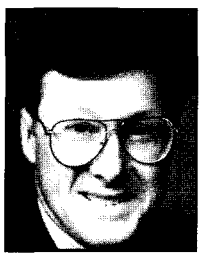
DISTRICT 7 (44% D - 38% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Tom Torlakson of Antioch. Republicans: Incumbent Richard Rainey of Walnut Creek and Daryl Chilimidos of Lafayette. Natural Law: Mark Billings of Pleasant Hill.


Torlakson


Rainey

This could be California's most costly and most hotly contested state Senate race. Democrats have long considered incumbent Richard Rainey too conservative for this East Bay district, and they finally have a viable contender to prove their point. The district straddles Contra Costa and Alameda counties and includes diverse communities from upscale Orinda to working-class Antioch. Rainey, a former Contra Costa County sheriff who served two terms in the Assembly, won the seat in 1996 after longtime incumbent Democrat Dan Boatright was termed out. Rainey is considered particularly vulnerable on the issue of guns — long a vital issue in the bedroom communities east of San Francisco. It was this same issue that sank the career of former GOP Congressman Bill Baker in 1996 at the hands of Democrat Ellen Tauscher, and Rainey's steadfast refusal to moderate his views on assault weapons and handguns reportedly has frustrated Republicans and emboldened Democrats. Rainey will cruise through the primary against Lafayette law clerk and political newcomer Daryl Chilimidos, but then Democratic Assemblyman Tom Torlakson gets his shot. A former high school teacher and Contra Costa County supervisor, Torlakson has been taking aim at Rainey's voting record for more than a year and likely will have a sizeable campaign treasury to expand both his name ID and his message. So, too, will Rainey. The turmoil will be exacerbated by potentially hot races for Congress and the Assembly that overlap this territory, making this the Bay Area's ground zero for election activity. Some predict that spending in this race will exceed the $7.3 million record for a state Senate race. Preliminary surveys indicate the race is very close, with voters strongly split along partisan lines. How well each frontrunner does in his primary also will tell much about how the fall race shapes up.

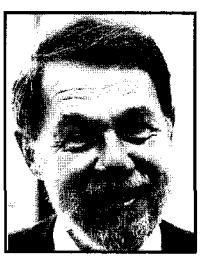
DISTRICT 9 (66% D - 12% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Don Perata of Alameda. Republican: Linda J. Marshall of Oakland. Libertarian: James M. Eyer of Oakland.

Republican Linda Marshall has an excellent opportunity to wake up the day after the November election and still be Linda Marshall.

DISTRICT 11 (45% D - 35% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher of Palo Alto. Republican: Gloria Hom of Palo Alto. Libertarian: John J. "Jack" Hickey of Emerald Hills.


Sher

Hom

Early on, termed-out Democratic Assemblyman Ted Lempert thought about taking on veteran Byron Sher in the primary. But Lempert decided not to be foolish in a public place. Thus, Sher, a Stanford law professor and fixture in Peninsula politics for more than 20 years, gets a free ride — in March. He dodged something of a bullet in November as well when area Republican Assemblyman Jim Cunneen decided to run for Congress. Instead, Sher has drawn as an opponent Gloria Hom, a community college instructor and economist who has been politically active in Santa Clara County. Hom doesn't have Cunneen's electoral bonafides, but she is viewed as a credible candidate who can expect some help from Senate Republicans who have so few targets of opportunity. Her overall support, however, likely will be pegged to how well she does in the primary. A bad showing head-to-head against Sher in March means she drops on the priority list.

DISTRICT 13 (51% D - 27% R - 18% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos of Santa Clara. Republican: John Longwell of San Jose. Libertarians: Kennita Watson of Palo Alto, John H. Webster of Santa Clara.

John Vasconcellos entered the Legislature in 1966. He's already termed out of the Assembly, and this election will ring the bell for his Senate career. This, then, is his last hurrah.

DISTRICT 15 (49% D - 30% R - 15% DS)

Democrats: Anselmo A. Chavez of Salinas, Katrina M. Ognyanovich of Carmel. Republican: Incumbent Bruce McPherson of Santa Cruz. Libertarian: Gordon D. Sachtjen of Boulder Creek. Natural Law: David Rosenkranz of Carmel.

After a hard fought and bitterly negative campaign against former Democratic Assemblyman Rusty Areias four years ago, incumbent Republican Bruce McPherson is ready for all comers. Last year alone, he raised nearly $325,000 anticipating another Democrat, if not Areias, to try and reclaim this historically Democratic stronghold. The moderate McPherson, who moved up from the Assembly, need not have worried. Simply put, Senate Democrats couldn't find a viable opponent willing to risk a shot at McPherson — even armed with a blank check. The two Democrats who did surface are Anselmo Chavez, a substitute teacher and accountant, and software developer Katrina Ognyanovich. Neither has raised significant sums of money and both are conducting low-profile campaigns. Nevertheless, McPherson will take nothing for granted.

DISTRICT 17 (35% D - 47% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Richard Lott of Santa Clarita. Republican: Incumbent William J. "Pete" Knight of Palmdale. Libertarian: John Gibson of Lancaster. Natural Law: Douglas Wallack of Lancaster.

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Incumbent Republican Pete Knight moved over to this seat from the Assembly in 1996 by defeating former state Senator Phil Wyman in the GOP primary, then obliterating his Democratic opponent in the finals. Knight's re-election was secured this time around when termed-out Assemblyman Keith Olberg decided not to challenge him in the primary. Knight can now devote his entire energies to passing his pet project — Proposition 22, the anti-gay marriage initiative.

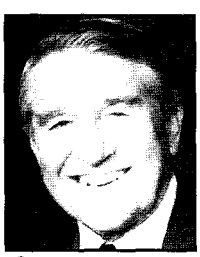
DISTRICT 19 (39% D - 42% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Daniel R. Gonzalez of Simi Valley. Republicans: Tom McClintock of Northridge, Judy Mikels of Simi Valley.

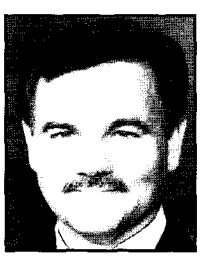
With term-limits closing out the state Senate career of incumbent Cathie Wright, this rural/suburban district anchored in Ventura County is a predictable next stop for the always-unpredictable Tom McClintock. The conservative iconoclast has made a career out of being the thorn in the side of whomever is in power at the moment, regardless of party affiliation. This perceived independence raises McClintock's profile within the district, and his name recognition has always been strong by the standards of most state legislators. But his provocative demeanor and his rails against parochialism have also earned him enmity among more established pols in the area. Wright, for instance, says she wouldn't endorse McClintock if he were the last person on earth. As he shoots to jump to the Senate, McClintock faces perhaps his most serious primary competition yet in Judy Mikels, a Ventura County supervisor. Sporting a long list of local endorsements, including Wright and Ventura County Sheriff Bob Brooks, Mikels is expected to make McClintock's "my way or the highway" brand of conservatism the issue in the race. McClintock, however, has his own issue in Ventura County's current financial crisis, as Mikels and her supervisorial colleagues have been forced to close a $5 million hole blamed largely on bureaucratic mismanagement. Though some editorials tout her as a voice of fiscal restraint on the board, the crisis happened on her watch, indeed while she was serving as chair of the board. The issue plays to McClintock's image as a fiscal attack dog, but Mikels' forces believe his insistence on ideological purity leaves him vulnerable: He voted against legislation cutting the vehicle license fee, for example, because it didn't do everything he wanted it to. The contest will likely boil down to money. McClintock has never been a powerful fund-raiser, but he's been doing well this time out. Money is a larger imperative for Mikels, who must overcome McClintock's natural districtwide advantage in name ID. The district itself has become increasingly influenced by more moderate suburban voters migrating in.

DISTRICT 21 (45% D - 36% R - 14% DS)

Democrats: Jack Scott of Altadena, Scott Wildman of Los Angeles. Republicans: Dave Wallis of Glendale, Paul Zee of South Pasadena. Libertarian: Bob New of Glendale.



Scott



Wildman

Super Bowl I for the Senate Democrats this primary season — the much anticipated (or dreaded, depending on your view) shootout between two nested Assembly members in a district that stretches along a swatch of suburban Los Angeles County from Burbank and Glendale to Arcadia. The contest was triggered early last year when incumbent Adam Schiff decided to forego near-certain re-election to run for Congress. Democratic Party poobahs in Sacramento spent most of last summer trying to convince either Scott Wildman (who represents the Glendale-based 43rd District) or Jack Scott (who represents the Pasadena-based 44th) to clear off for the other, but neither would budge. By early fall, the battle was joined. Wildman, a former teachers-union organizer, is touting himself as the "activist" Democrat in the Cesar Chavez mold. In the run-up to the campaign, Wildman established himself as a legislative watchdog of sorts in the debacle surrounding construction of L.A.'s ill-fated Belmont Learning Center. Scott, the former president of Pasadena City College, has established himself as the lead on gun control, an issue that flows from the death of his son some years back in an accidental shooting. Each lays claim to an element of the Democratic core constituency: Wildman's union-organizer background has helped him corner several key labor endorsements, while Scott has been the favorite of the state's trial lawyers. So far, the lawyers have been more giving: Scott has out-raised Wildman by about two-to-one, though the gap narrowed in the last three months of 1999. But if it's possible for a fund-raising deficit to be overcome by sheer energy, Wildman is the guy to do it. Local politicos describe him as the "Energizer Bunny" of the campaign, always on the go, always pushing. In the early stages of the race, Wildman was everywhere, including at some of Scott's campaign events. Each enjoys strong support in his district home bases, which means the election could turn on who gets his voters out to the polls. Scott would seem to have an edge, as there are a larger number of registered voters in his half of the district. But Wildman's portion of the district is generally seen as more solidly Democratic. Also, Scott could find himself affected by the candidacy of Republican Paul Zee. A city councilman from South Pasadena and a local businessman, Zee has strong backing in the Asian community and has already gotten $200,000 from the Senate GOP Caucus. Assuming he wages any kind of primary campaign, Zee could draw away some GOP crossovers that might have helped Scott build a cushion against the ever-charging Wildman. Scott's laid-back demeanor and compelling personal story have always made him an attractive candidate, and early polling in the race showed him leading Wildman.

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But underdogs who out-hustle their better-financed rivals have been known to win elections. Just ask Gray Davis.

DISTRICT 23 (52% D - 28% R - 15% DS)

Democrats: Wally Knox of Los Angeles, Sheila James Kuehl of Santa Monica. Republican: Daniel B. Rego of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Charles Black of Malibu.

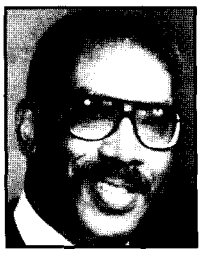
Super Bowl II for the Senate Democrats this primary season, the trophy for which is the upscale Democratic stronghold being vacated by termed-out state Senator Tom Hayden. As with the 21st, the race pits two nested Assembly members against each other, and in this case, two members with virtually identical voting records and political philosophies. Sheila Kuehl, who represents the Santa Monica-anchored 41st Assembly District, earned fame early in life as a television actress, notably on the popular "The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis." After building a career as an attorney and activist, Kuehl in 1994 became the first open lesbian to serve in the state Legislature, and subsequently its first-ever female speaker pro tempore. Wally Knox, a former Los Angeles Community College Board Member, won his Beverly Hills/West Hollywood 42nd District seat after a bruising and expensive primary in which he spent more than $400,000. He and Kuehl each could conceivably double that total by the time all is said and done in this race. Each candidate has strengths that could play in the other's home base. As a former child actress, Kuehl is a natural for the celebrity-rich Westside that Knox currently represents. The dollop of "tough-on-crime" rhetoric that Knox has woven into past campaigns, and his advocacy of the one-gun-a-month limitation, could help him in the 41st, a sizeable portion of which lies in the more suburbanized San Fernando Valley. Each courts a different sector of the Democratic base — Kuehl is popular with the trial bar, while Knox has strong labor support. Each has a marquee endorsement — Kuehl has Governor Gray Davis (Kuehl had been an early backer of Davis in 1998); Knox has L.A. Mayor Richard Riordan. So, as with the 21st, it boils down to money, message and mobilization. Financially, Knox broke to an early lead, but Kuehl overwhelmed him in the last reporting period of the year, and began 2000 with a greater-than $200,000 margin over her rival. As for the message, the contrasts so far have been more of style and nuance than substance. Kuehl has emphasized her involvement in protecting the Santa Monica Mountains, her intimate involvement in HMO reform, and her long history in civil rights and domestic and child abuse advocacy. Knox is stressing his populist causes, including re-institution of the eight-hour work day and his legislation blocking the addition of new area codes and the imposition of 10-digit phone dialing in Los Angeles County. Given their past political closeness (Knox actually backed Kuehl's unsuccessful speakership bid in 1997), each stresses the desire to keep the campaign clean and positive, but most observers believe the tone will sharpen considerably as Election Day draws closer. Each campaign points to early polling showing their candidate in a position to win the race, though Kuehl had a clear early advantage in name identification. Bottom line: The only certainty about this primary is that the winner will go on to win in November.

DISTRICT 25 (71% D - 13% R - 10% DS)

Democrats: Richard E. Floyd of Gardena, Edward Vincent of Inglewood. Republican: Cliff McClain of Los Angeles.

Yet another case of two Assembly members squaring off against each other in hopes of replacing a termed-out senator. Unlike the previous two contests, however, only one of the two members represents a part of the Senate district up for grabs. Ed Vincent, the former mayor of Inglewood elected to the 51st Assembly seat in 1996, was a virtual lock to run for the urban L.A. County district being vacated by Teresa Hughes, and seemed to have a clear path when the district's other "nestee," Democrat Carl Washington in the 52nd, opted not to challenge him. But that booming voice from over the fence in the adjacent 55th was none other than Dick Floyd, the bombastic veteran who

Floyd


Vincent

was to be claimed by term limits. Floyd moved into the district and signed on to challenge Vincent. "Disagreeable" is a polite way of describing Floyd's legislative persona, but his unwavering backing for organized labor is being repaid in this contest, as a long and varied list of unions have signed on to help him. Given the district's large concentration of union households, this backing will help Floyd, as will the money that comes with it. But the district has also historically elected African Americans, and the Legislative Black Caucus has closed ranks around Vincent. That support has translated into legal tender for Vincent, and the end-of-the-year filings showed him with an edge in money and endorsements. Floyd has never shied away from a dogfight and has demonstrated time and again he doesn't care what anybody thinks of him except the ones who elected him. But most of the institutional support that is not affiliated with labor is moving Vincent's way and even S.E.I.U. has wound up backing Vincent. Labor's loyalty brings Floyd to the party, and there's little doubt the contest will get tougher before it's through. But the winner will be able to wipe away the mud before November, as Cliff McClain poses no serious threat to continued Democratic dominance in this district.

DISTRICT 27 (48% D - 35% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Betty Karnette of Long Beach. Republican: Marilyn Lyon of Rancho Palos Verdes.

The primary will be the tune-up for the general in this district, which contains much of Long Beach as well as inland communities such as Cerritos and Norwalk. The registration edge is narrow enough to place the district on the GOP's watch list, but Betty Karnette

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is battle-tested. Marilyn Lyon, a Rancho Palos Verdes councilwoman, ran for Assembly two years ago in the Long Beach-based 54th, but lost in the primary. She has her own fund-raising base and has been working the district hard. The primary will likely tell the story about how much help she can expect from GOP big cheeses come fall.

DISTRICT 29 (40% D - 41% R - 14% DS)

Democrats: Steve Herfert and Richard Melendez of West Covina. Republican: Bob Margett of Arcadia. Libertarian: Leland Thomas Faegre of West Covina.

The curious timing of his arrival in the state Senate had outgoing incumbent Richard Mountjoy convinced he was eligible to run again for this seat. The special-election replacement for former Senator Frank Hill, Mountjoy was elected in November of 1994, but not sworn in until well into January of 1995. He believed that his term-limit clock started at swearing in, which would have allowed him to run again. But just about everyone else, including GOP Secretary of State Bill Jones, said the clock started in November, which would have made him ineligible. When the Superior Court joined the chorus, Mountjoy gave up. Margett, who replaced Mountjoy in the Assembly when the latter moved to the Senate, cleared the field when his nested associate, Assemblyman Robert Pacheco, opted to run for re-election. A steady influx of Latinos into this once-monolithic San Gabriel Valley GOP stronghold could help Melendez in the Democratic primary, but only the most rose-tinted Democratic eyes see a partisan flip this time out.

DISTRICT 31 (39% D - 45% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Mike Rayburn of Redlands. Republican: Incumbent Jim Brulte of Etiwanda. Libertarian: Fritz Ward of Crestline.

Incumbent Republican Jim Brulte, seeking his final term in the Legislature, wears so many hats these days -- caucus chairman, budget lead, elections guru — that his own re-election probably doesn't register at all on his radar screen. Nor does it have to.

DISTRICT 32 (52% D - 32%R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Nell Soto of Pomona. Republican: Rob Guzman of Fontana.

This even-numbered district would not stand for election in 2000 but for the death last fall of the region's longtime congressman, Democrat George Brown Jr. His passing set in motion a series of events that have echoed throughout the Inland Empire, chief among them the special election in November 1999 to replace Brown. That election was won by Democratic state Senator Joe Baca — who had held this San Bernardino-Los Angeles County seat for less than a year. Thus, another special election had to be staged to replace Baca, and that contest came off in mid-January. The election proved to be a tree falling in a forest, as only 14 percent of registered voters bothered to go to the polls. They will have another opportunity to express their apathy in March, when a run-off will be held in conjunction with the primary election. The run-off occurred when no candidate emerged with more than 50 percent of the vote. Democratic Assemblywoman Nell Soto came closest, falling 2 percent short of a clear win, and she'll now square off with Republican Rob Guzman. The winner will fill out the remaining two years of Baca's term, then be eligible under term limits for an additional two terms. The campaign between Soto and Guzman proved a slugfest, with each side going heavily negative as Election Day approached. Each side also thought it had a chance to capture the seat in January, and Soto nearly did, her effort ultimately sidetracked by the presence of Fontana Mayor David Eshelman, who spent

Soto

Guzman

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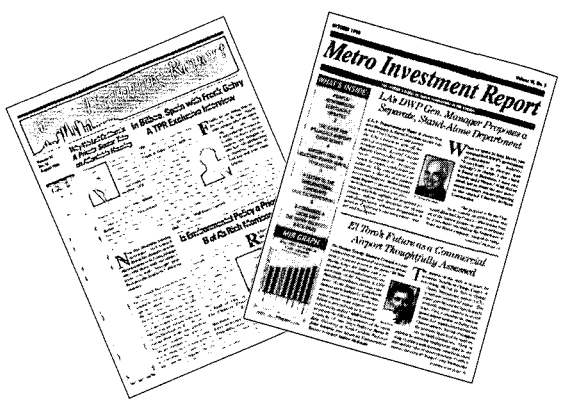

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less than $6,000 but siphoned off enough votes to necessitate another round of balloting in March. Republicans, too, thought they might have crafted an ambush with an aggressive absentee-voter program, but their effort fell short on both sides of the San Bernardino-Los Angeles County line. Soto, the former mayor of Pomona, racked up 70 percent of the vote in her home territory of Los Angeles, although that slice of the pie contributes less than 10 percent of district registration. As she did in her 1998 Assembly race, Soto also ran strong in populous San Bernardino County, where she beat Guzman on his home turf. The January special election marked the Senate Republicans' best chance to take the seat, and although they may tout a full-court press in March, they likely will leave Guzman to his own devices and wage war elsewhere. If Republicans can take any solace in the chain of events that led to this election, it will likely come in November in the Assembly district vacated by Soto — AD 61. Although Soto won it in 1998, it is the Republican half of this Senate district and had been held by a Republican throughout the 1990s. Democrats had trouble recruiting a successor to Soto, and the GOP is poised to recapture it with her departure. As for Guzman, his political high-water mark came six years ago when he came within a few hundred votes of unseating George Brown. Two years later, he tried to take on Brown again but finished a dismal fourth in the Republican primary.

DISTRICT 33 (29% D - 54% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Jack Roberts of Los Angeles. Republican: Dick Ackerman of Fullerton. Natural Law: William "Bill" Verkamp of Anaheim. Libertarian: Michael Chacon of Tustin.

No one expected a serious challenger to emerge against Dick Ackerman, who is trying to move up in the world after being termed out of the Assembly. This seat being vacated by state Senator John Lewis of Orange has long been a safe holding for the Republicans.

DISTRICT 35 (30% D - 51% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Steve Ray of Sunset Beach. Republican: Incumbent Ross Johnson of Irvine. Natural Law: Cindy Katz of Tustin. Libertarian: Paul L. Studier of Lake Forest.

The Republican air in this district is as pervasive as the quietly gathering beige of its proliferating tract homes. Ross Johnson is home free — again.

DISTRICT 37 (35% D - 46% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Sedalia Sanders of El Centro. Republicans: Jim Battin of Palm Desert and Mark Watton of Spring Valley. Libertarian: Donna Tello of Poway.

GOP Assemblyman Jim Battin is attempting to cross the hall and occupy a seat in the state Senate after being termed out of the lower house. Along the way, he'll pass the termed-out incumbent from this district, Republican Dave Kelley, who is running for Battin's 80th Assembly District. Battin is challenged in his attempt by Mark Watton, a director of the Otay Water District. Battin, however, is the clear frontrunner. He has endorsements from most of the area's Republican establishment, including former President Gerald Ford, and is favored by two politically powerful donors — the California Correctional Peace Officers Association and Native American tribes involved with gaming. They ensure that he will have the resources to compete with Mark Watton, who could self-fund. Not that Battin needs help. He had salted away more than $500,000 by the end of last September, so Watton will have to dig deep into his own pockets to come within shouting distance of a sitting legislator who can continue to pile up his treasury. Battin has some vulnerabilities, notably a slap from the Fair Political Practices Commission for accepting gifts during his rookie term, but that particular charge floated through both of Battin's Assembly re-elections without denting his armor. The district itself sprawls east from San Diego through Imperial and Riverside counties to the Nevada border. If Battin has a challenge, it is to raise his profile in the San Diego County portion of the district, home to 58 percent of district voters and where Republicans outnumber Democrats two-to-one. By contrast, his Assembly district lies in Riverside and Imperial counties, where Democrats outnumber Republicans. Watton hails from San Diego but is less well known overall than Battin.

DISTRICT 39 (39% D - 38% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Dede Alpert. Republican: Larry Stirling. Libertarian: Rusty Nichols. Natural Law: Stuart Knoles. All of San Diego.

Prior to 1998, voters could cast primary ballots only for candidates from the voter's party. As a result, primaries like this one were seen as non-affairs, with the real contest confined to November. But under the new blanket primary system first used in '98, voters — including independents — may vote for any candidate from any party. Now, primaries such as this one are seen as tests of electoral strength, and candidates cannot ignore them. A poor primary showing can dry up funding and put campaigns at a disadvantage as the election heats toward the fall. It is particularly true in this district, where two veteran officials will square off, one of whom has consistently run in tough districts while the other has been out of elective politics for more than a decade. Incumbent Dede Alpert has been in the Legislature since 1990, when she first won a seat in the Assembly. She moved over to the Senate in 1996. A moderate Democrat, she has won in districts with adverse Democratic registration, befuddling a flock of Republican campaigns. If current registration numbers hold, 2000 will mark the first time Alpert has been buoyed by an advantage in registered voters. Republicans promise a tough challenge from their standard-bearer, Superior Court Judge Larry Stirling — himself a former legislator. Stirling served in the Legislature from 1980 to 1989 when he was appointed to the bench by former Governor George Deukmejian. Still, Stirling's fate hinges partly on his showing in the primary. If he holds his own, Republicans likely will fully fund his campaign. If Alpert's primary vote swamps Stirling's, however, Republicans are likely to spend their resources elsewhere.

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Assembly Districts

DISTRICT 1 (48% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Virginia Strom-Martin of Santa Rosa. Republican: Michael Lampson of Kelseyville. Libertarian: Joshua Gilleo of Eureka.

Last time around, incumbent Democrat Virginia Strom-Martin beat her GOP challenger by two-to-one. The head-to-head primary with Republican Michael Lampson likely will mean she gets to coast in her final Assembly race.

DISTRICT 2 (38% D - 43% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Virgil Parks of Redding. Republican: Incumbent Dick Dickerson of Redding. Libertarian: Pete Bret of Redding. Natural Law: Patrice Thiessen of Mt. Shasta.

Republican registration continues to improve in this central swath of Northern California, so incumbent Republican Richard Dickerson can continue to make himself at home.

DISTRICT 3 (38% D - 43% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Benjamin Wirtschafter of Marysville. Republican: Incumbent Samuel M. Aanestad of Grass Valley. Libertarian: William L. Thomason of Truckee.

Incumbent Sam Aanestad succeeded termed-out Assemblyman Bernie Richter two years ago after a bruising primary match against Richter's own son-in-law, David Reade. That likely will be Aanestad's toughest election, and he shouldn't get much of a challenge from Marysville attorney Benjamin Wirtschafter.

DISTRICT 4 (36% D - 47% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Stephen A. Macola of Loomis. Republican: Tim Leslie of Tahoe City.

Termed out of his Senate seat, Republican Tim Leslie wants to pivot back to the Assembly, where he began his Capitol career in 1986. Leslie wants the Assembly seat that occupies the lower half of his Senate district. The seat now is in the hands of Republican Rico Oller, who conveniently enough is running for Leslie's Senate seat. Thus, the two can simply swap Capitol offices, maybe even avoid the hassle of moving furniture.

DISTRICT 5 (40% D - 43% R - 12% DS)

Republican: Incumbent Dave Cox of Fair Oaks. Libertarian: Gene Frazier of Citrus Heights.

Poor Dave Cox. How will he ever survive the grueling race ahead?

DISTRICT 6 (51% D - 28% R - 15% DS)

Democrats: Susan Adams of San Rafael, Basia Crane of Ross, Frank Egger of Fairfax, Carole Hayashino of San Rafael, Barbara Heller of San Rafael, Jack Gibson of San Rafael, Joe Nation of San Rafael, Paul Nave of San Rafael. Republican: Ed Sullivan of San Anselmo. Libertarian: Richard Olmstead of Petaluma.

Adams

Egger

Nation

A slew of hopefuls has emerged to replace termed-out Democratic incumbent Kerry Mazzoni in this mellow district noted for its luxury homes, white wine and panoramic coastline. Democrats alone have eight candidates elbowing for the nomination, which is a good signal that the entire contest will be decided in their primary. None starts with much name recognition, leaving the race wide open. And as in many crowded primaries, the likely victor will be the Democrat who can best draw GOP crossover votes and appeal to district independents. Several candidates stand out in fund-raising and endorsements. Three have raised more than $100,000 — Jack Gibson, who holds a seat on the Marin Municipal Water Board; Carole Hayashino, an adjunct faculty member at California State University, San Francisco, and vice chair of the Marin County Human Rights Commission; and Joe Nation, a director of the Marin water district. Barbara Heller hasn't raised as much money, but she has an electoral track record as a member of the San Rafael City Council. San Rafael is the largest city in Marin County and supplies the district with more than 26,000 registered voters, so Heller has a base from which to work. And then there is Paul Nave, a professional boxer who comes from a prominent area family. But the candidate with the highest name recognition has no real chance to win the race, although he will win his primary. Republican Ed Sullivan ran two years ago, finishing second in the GOP primary. He has the kind of name ID that most candidates would kill for, especially in a Marin County/Sonoma County district heavy with boomers.

DISTRICT 7 (54% D - 29% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Patricia "Pat" Wiggins of Santa Rosa. Republican: Pedro J. Rivera of Fairfield. Libertarian: William Schoeffler of Glen Ellen.

Patricia Wiggins, a former Santa Rosa City Council member, is poised to easily capture a second term in this wine country district that includes Napa and parts of Sonoma and Solano counties.

DISTRICT 8 (49% D - 32% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Helen M. Thomson. Republican: John R. Munn. Natural Law: Robert W. Wilson II. All of Davis.

Assemblywoman Helen Thomson can wait to see if Republicans make a serious bid against her in November with Davis school board member John Munn. Rumor had it Republicans were

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poised to go after her in 1998, but the challenge never materialized and Thomson coasted to re-election. Now, Munn will have to make a credible showing in the blanket primary for this district to blip onto his party's radar screen.

DISTRICT 9 (60% D - 22% D - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Darrell Steinberg. Republican: Charles Hargrave. Green: Jan Louis Bergeron. Natural Law: Bruce B. Saunders. All of Sacramento.

The Democrat-friendly confines of the 9th district will once again allow Assemblyman Darrell Steinberg — a good friend of organized labor — to rake in cash and dispense it to other Democrats facing real challenges this year. Not a bad way to raise one's profile, and amass a bunch of chits.

DISTRICT 10 (43% D - 42% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Debra Gravert of Elk Grove. Republican: Incumbent Anthony Pescetti of Rancho Cordova. Libertarian: Tom Kohlhepp of Lodi.

In 1998, when Democrats were winning one marginal seat after another, moderate Republican Anthony Pescetti won this south Sacramento County/northern San Joaquin County district by a few hundred votes over Capitol staffer Debra Gravert. Because her defeat was so close in a district that has traditionally elected Republicans, Gravert is back for one more try. This time, Pescetti has the advantage of incumbency, plus a solid first term under his belt. In addition to his likeable personality, Pescetti displayed a rare GOP quality in his first year by backing some of organized labor's key proposals, including pay raises for state employees. Gravert has the endorsement of Governor Gray Davis, but must run strong in the primary for Democrats to move this district near the top of their target list.

DISTRICT 11 (53% D - 29% R - 11% DS)

Democrats: Joe Canciamilla of Pittsburg, Lou Rosas of Pittsburg. Republican: Jim Diaz of Clayton. Libertarian: Frank J. Manske of Concord.

Incumbent Tom Torlakson's run for state Senate against Republican Senator Richard Rainey has left this seat up for grabs, and with registration so lopsided on behalf of Democrats, the game is in their primary. Both contenders have launched their candidacies from electoral bases, but Contra Costa County Supervisor Joe Canciamilla has the nod from Assembly Democratic leaders and an endorsement from their caucus. He also has the upper hand in fund-raising, having banked more than $120,000. Former Concord Mayor Lou Rosas is relying on grass-roots connections and involvement with community groups and local businesses. He has endorsements from former Assemblyman Bob Campbell of Richmond and dozens of local city officials, school board trustees and community organizations. But he doesn't have Canciamilla's cash and county-wide name ID, and those are hard to overcome if your campaign is running on empty.

DISTRICT 12 (57% D - 16% R - 22% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Kevin Shelley. Republican: Howard Epstein. Both of San Francisco.

Kevin Shelley, the Democratic floor leader, is free to use his Assembly campaign funds to help others.

DISTRICT 13 (59% D - 13% R - 21% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Carole Migden. Republicans: Bob Lane and Gail E. Neira. Libertarian: Starchild. All of San Francisco.

Okay, the $64 question: With only 13 percent of district voters registered as Republicans, why is there a contested GOP primary? Are Bob Lane and Gail Neira battling for a prize that is not readily apparent? None of this matters to incumbent Carole Migden, or her chances of winning a third and final term. Just curious.

DISTRICT 14 (67% D - 10% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Dion Louise Aroner of Berkeley. Republican: Jerald Udinsky of Oakland. Libertarian: Daniel C. Burton of Berkeley.

Words of advice for Jerry Udinsky: Think positive. Be optimistic. Set a reasonable goal — like finishing ahead of party registration, because you won't finish ahead of Dion Aroner.

DISTRICT 15 (38% D - 45% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Greg Rolen of Walnut Creek. Republican: Incumbent Lynne Leach of Walnut Creek.

Something is afoot in this district, even if it's only Democratic dreams. On paper, the election looks like a lock for two-term incumbent Republican Lynne Leach, a conservative businesswoman who survived a tough first election in 1996 then coasted to victory two years ago. Her opponent is a political neophyte who must rely on the largesse of Assembly Democrats to mount any kind of a campaign. Those Democrats believe Leach is vulnerable thanks to her voting record, and they dream of unseating her much in the same way they took out former Congressman Bill Baker in 1996 in very much this same area. With a lot of election activity swirling through the neighborhood in contests for the state Senate and Congress, Democrats may take a very hard look at funding attorney Greg Rolen. It all depends, of course, on how well Rolen fares in the primary. If he looks credible, this district could heat up in the fall — certainly enough to force Republicans to squander money on Leach that they otherwise could spend elsewhere.

DISTRICT 16 (65% D - 14% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Wilma Chan of Alameda. Republican: Timothy B. McCormick of Piedmont. Libertarian: Richard E. Armstrong of Alameda.

The name to remember in this district is not on the March ballot. That is because the incumbent is Audie Bock, a Green who abandoned her party to run as an independent so as to avoid the primary. The seat had been held forever by Democrats until last March, when Bock came from nowhere to defeat former Assemblyman and former Oakland Mayor Elihu Harris in a special election made necessary because then-incumbent Don Perata had moved on to the state Senate. Harris blew the special, losing it by a mere 327 votes, and now Democrats are salivating at the chance to recapture the seat. Much to Democrats' chagrin,

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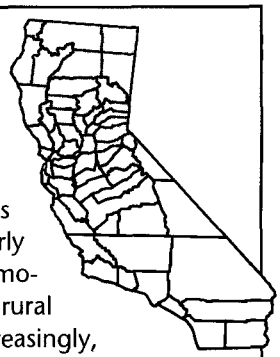
Harris planned to run again but they were spared when he was unable to collect the 40 valid signatures from district Democrats that he needed to qualify for the ballot — thus solidifying his reputation as a political incompetent of the highest order. Harris' blunder — and the refusal of his prime benefactor, San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown Jr., to intervene on his behalf — left the Democratic field to Alameda County Supervisor Wilma Chan. Chan likely would have toasted Harris anyway, given her demonstrated strength in fund-raising, grassroots campaigning and support from powerful friends in Sacramento. Now, however, she can hoard her resources for the fall contest against Bock. Provided, of course, that the now-independent incumbent can amass the 5,700 district voter signatures required to qualify for the November ballot. A signature campaign requires cash, and Bock is short of it unless she gets help from a few friends, or unless the district's other prominent independent — Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown — comes to her rescue. Harris, after all, couldn't find 40 valid signatures.

Northern California



The rugged and majestically forested terrain in this vast upper reach of California is home to thinly populated but geographically sprawling legislative districts. Some, such as the 1st Senate District, span 13 counties and are as large as entire states. Others, such as the 1st Assembly District at 300 miles long, contain nearly a third of the state's shoreline. Economically and demographically, the largely Anglo population living in these rural settings is reminiscent of an earlier California. Increasingly, newcomers fleeing suburban congestion and high housing prices are finding their slices-of-heaven in the Sierra foothills, bringing a new economic infusion and a more moderate political outlook to this typically conservative GOP stronghold. Yet the high-tech and service industry spark catching fire in other parts of the state has been slow to ignite here. Older towns, such as Oroville, Marysville and Eureka, continue trying to jump-start their downtowns and redefine their economic identity.

Those cut from conservative cloth fare best here. In some districts, such as Assembly District 3, no Democrat has been elected since 1976. But aging schools and poorly maintained roads have Democrats trying to challenge the status quo and reassert themselves. Along the coast, where young and liberal urban refugees established a foothold beginning in the 1960s, Democrats have managed to win seats after bruising campaigns. For the foreseeable future, however, Democrats are likely to have a hard time making headway in the Republican bastions beyond the coast.

— Kathleen Les

DISTRICT 17 (47% D - 42% R - 7% DS)

Democrats: Barbara Matthews of Tracy, Jenne Stebbins of Stockton, Tom Montes of Stockton, Tim Weintz Sr. of Stockton. Republicans: Gerry Machado of Manteca, Rick Veldstra of Escalon, Greg Aghazarian of Stockton, Thomas Benigno of Stockton. Libertarian: Roy W. Busch of Manteca.

If Republicans are to have any chance of retaking the Assembly this year, and thus avoid the doom of a Democratic reapportionment plan, they must take this Stockton-based seat, which includes the smaller towns of Escalon, Linden, Manteca, Ripon and the commuter-bedroom boomtown of Tracy. Fortunately for Republicans, popular Democratic Assemblyman Mike Machado is termed out and running for the Senate, leaving behind an all-out dogfight in both party primaries. On the GOP side, it's a three-way race among four candidates. Lincoln school board member Greg Aghazarian is backed by many of the

Montes

Matthews

Aghazarian

district's key business people, plus GOP power-figures Dean Andal, a state Board of Equalization member, and Alex Spanos, the millionaire developer who owns the San Diego Chargers. Aghazarian, whose family is Armenian, is well-connected with the Greek community thanks to his father's involvement in local organizations, hence the backing of Spanos. A tailoring shop, Aghazarian's, is a longtime Stockton institution, giving him instant name recognition. Because of his heavy weight support, Aghazarian will likely be the top GOP fund raiser, and consultant Steve Pressen will use the cash to help extend Aghazarian's name ID beyond Stockton. Name identification is not a problem for another Republican hopeful, Gerry Machado. Although no relation to Democrat Mike, businessman Machado is hoping to ride the incumbent's good name. He has the backing of many local officials from the district's smaller towns and has professional campaign help from Gilliard/Blanning. The third contender, who enjoys neither big-name endorsements nor a convenient last name, is farmer Rick Veldstra. Being a farmer counts in this Central Valley seat, and Veldstra has been endorsed by the state Farm Bureau. With what money he's been able to raise from area farmers, Veldstra — with the help of communications consultant Leo McElroy — already has issued some radio spots and put up billboards, emphasizing his knowledge of the area's water supply problems. On the Democratic side, the four-person contest is primarily between Tracy City Councilwoman Barbara Matthews and San Joaquin County

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Deputy District Attorney Tom Montes. In the early going, Matthews was the better organized, under the tutelage of veteran campaign consultant Richie Ross. In addition to holding local office, Matthews has been a Sacramento lobbyist for Albertson's grocery chain and has the backing of Stockton state Senator Pat Johnston. Although she has earned the endorsement of some labor organizations, including the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, Matthews is not liked by local Teamsters, who haven't forgiven her vote to contract out Tracy's street-sweeping. No surprise, the Teamsters are fully behind Montes, whose focus in the DA's office has been environmental prosecution. Montes is being helped by consultant Leo Briones and the Latino Caucus, including state Senator Richard Polanco. Montes' family once worked as farm laborers until they scraped enough money together to buy a farm and send most of their kids to college. His family connection to agriculture may not be enough to win over some farm folks, who don't always look kindly on environmental prosecutors.

DISTRICT 18 (56% D - 25% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Ellen Corbett of San Leandro. Republican: Syed Mahmood of Union City.

Given the district's strong Democratic tendencies, rookie Ellen Corbett can afford to help more endangered colleagues.

DISTRICT 19 (53% D - 27% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lou Papan of Millbrae. Republican: Steven H. Kassel of Burlingame. Libertarian: Steve C. Lundry of South San Francisco. Reform: Paul J. Six of Foster City.

Lou Papan is no longer the Assembly's chief enforcer, as he was back in his pre-term-limit incarnation as longtime head of the Assembly Rules Committee. Papan would very much like the Assembly to be the house he once helped rule, but it isn't and he must be content to lend his experience as an elder statesman in a Legislature bereft of institutional memory.

DISTRICT 20 (47% D - 30% R - 19% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent John Dutra. Republican: Lowell King. Libertarian: Mark Werlwas. All of Fremont.

Nearly 20 percent of the voters in this East Bay district consider themselves independents. That figure comes perilously close to the number who consider themselves Republicans. All this means that rookie John Dutra has a clear shot at a second term.

DISTRICT 21 (47% D - 32% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Joe Simitian of Palo Alto. Republican: Deborah Wilder of Foster City. Green: Gloria Purcell of Belmont.

Former Palo Alto Mayor Joe Simitian is the lone Democrat running to replace termed-out Assemblyman Ted Lempert. The region will be alive with competitive races for Congress and the state Senate, so Simitian and Foster City Mayor Deborah Wilder can swim in swirling waters all the way to November.

DISTRICT 22 (47% D - 30% R - 18% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Elaine Alquist of Santa Clara. Republican: Stan Kawczynski of Sunnyvale.

Elaine Alquist is safe in a district that was the base of former Assemblyman, now Senator John Vasconcellos — an area that's more conservative in voter registration than in spirit.

DISTRICT 23 (55% D - 22% R - 17% DS)

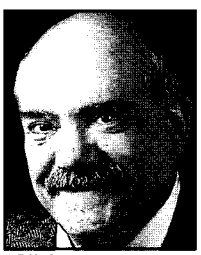
Democrats: Fred Buzo of San Jose, Manny Diaz of San Jose, Tony West of San Jose. Republicans: Tom Askeland of San Jose, David J. Neighbors of San Jose. Libertarian: Dana W. Albrecht of Campbell.

A head-to-head battle between two rising Democratic stars hoping to replace Assm. Mike Honda is shaping up as a showdown between the Legislative Black Caucus and the Latino Caucus. On one side of the ring is termed-out San Jose councilman Manny Diaz, backed by a bevy of business leaders and buoyed by a big cash infusion from the Latino Caucus. On the other is Tony West, one of Attorney General Bill Lockyer's top assistants on civil rights, high-tech crime and elder abuse, who counts law enforcement and the AG on his side as well as the financial largesse of African American legislators. Both are adept fund-raisers, having raised about $60,000 each in a few short weeks. Because the district is heavily Democratic, the primary winner will likely will decide the race. Expect a bruising battle ahead between two well-matched contenders.

DISTRICT 24 (42% D - 38% R - 16% DS)

Democrats: Rebecca Cohn of Saratoga, Steve Glickman of Los Gatos. Republicans: Steve Blanton of Los Gatos, Donna Courtright of Los Gatos, Sue Jackson of Monte Sereno. Libertarian: Ray Strong of San Jose.

Cohn


Glickman

Incumbent Republican Jim Cunneen must surrender his seat to term limits, and his departure has attracted a wealth of candidates on both sides — testimony to the district's competitive nature. The area has traditionally been held by Republicans, but Democrats are smelling a chance to add the seat to their column — if only by default. Early on, both sides had virtually conceded the race to San Jose City Councilwoman Pat Dando, a Republican moderate very much in the Cunneen mold. No Republicans and few Democrats were willing to take on the popular Dando, but last August, she stunned Republicans by announcing that she would not make the race due to family obligations. That set off a GOP scramble to find a replacement. Democrats, on the other hand, already had Rebecca Cohn, who had opted in despite Dando and thus had impressed Assembly Democrats with her spunk and energy. They have backed her with cash and endorsements. The district was last open in 1994 when Republican Chuck

Continued on page 39

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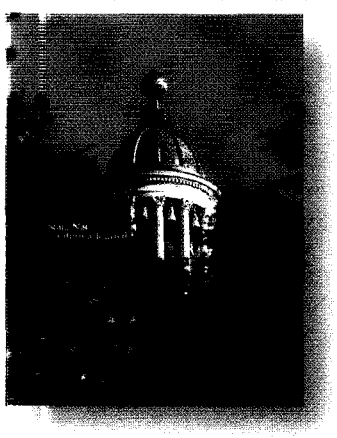

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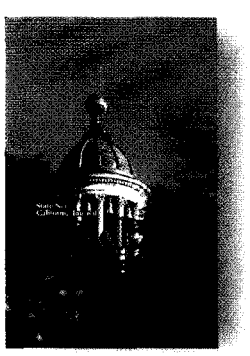

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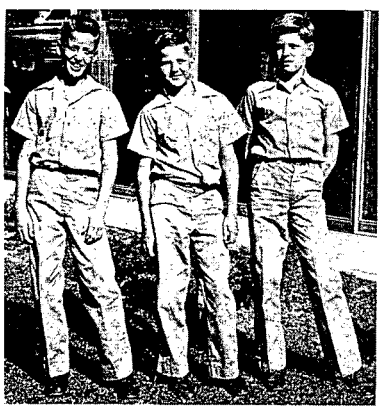
The schoolboy days of Gray Davis

by Cynthia H. Craft

"This year's crop of seventh graders under the able leadership of president 'Toodie' Sunshine, vice president Gray Davis, and treasurer Anderson C., has been a strong group that has proven its ability to advance into the higher classes. Academically speaking, Davis leads the class and on the athletic field Anderson, Sunshine and Davis have proved outstanding, all three lettering in "D" basketball...."

— 1955 Harvard School yearbook

This is Gray Davis as he appears in the annual for Harvard School in North Hollywood, circa 1955: Tall, lean, toothy and awkward in a crisp military academy uniform and a crewcut. Smiling. Sunny, nearly. He is standing outdoors on schoolgrounds that, back in the 1930s were part of the old Hollywood Country Club, are today the site of the prestigious and elite Harvard-Westlake preparatory school. He is pictured with two other boys, the class president and treasurer. A caption identifies young Gray as vice president.



Vice president Gray Davis at left.

If you read his body language, you might conclude Davis doesn't care to get too close to the boy who is president. He shifts his weight to his outside hip, installing a crescent of space between him and the boy in higher office.

At this early point in his life, Gray Davis, V.P., has already set his course. This is just a year or so after he scripted the spookily prophetic Childhood Anecdote that decades later would slide neatly into media profiles – the infamous handwritten proclamation for his parents' anniversary that he signed, "Governor Joseph Graham Davis Jr."

But you won't find the governor's Harvard School years chronicled at *www.ca.gov*, where a biography skips nimbly from birth in New York City in 1942 to *cum laude* graduation from Stanford and onto a degree from Columbia University Law School. Can you imagine how that would go over? The governor with (presumably public) education as his main priority attending a private school that today commands a tuition of $14,450-a-year, with another $2,000 recommended for expenses? A school that boasts of a student:teacher ratio of 9:1 and class sizes of no more than 15 to 17 pupils? A school whose library touts access to 200,000 volumes and numerous online databases.

Before you can gain admittance to this dream school, you must ace standardized tests. Perhaps this explains why the governor is lopsided on test scores as fix-it tools for schools. We are what we know. We do what we've seen done. Of course, the ability to perform on tests, being a learned skill as well as an intellectual triumph, is much easier when one is well provided-for. It's a tougher row to hoe for pupils who are hungry, stressed and demoralized by shabby classrooms – or for those who are instructed by young, inexperienced teachers inflated with a misguided, romantic sense of *esprit d'Peace Corps* and little else.

As for the fully grown, fully educated, fully fulfilled Gray Davis, people say it's hard to find depth in the man – heart, even – beyond the unwavering ambition we see taking root on the pages of his yearbook. But these days you can see deep enough to find his Achilles heel. He left it gaping and exposed in his inexplicable and steadfast refusal to bring California up to the national average in per-pupil classroom spending. The *national average.* If not in boom times, then when? If not when we are shamed by our bottom-feeder rankings, then when? If not when Californians urge it, then when?

Davis attributes his lack of action to caution, trying to spin it into a plus. But what the governor is showing us looks more and more like an absence of the sort of substance and wisdom that Harvard-Westlake schoolmasters work at instilling in their graduates. If higher taxes are the bitter pill the public is ready to swallow in exchange for restoring schools to former glory, Davis ought to have the courage to suspend his frenzy for campaign fundraising long enough to make it happen. He ought to polish up the crystal ball so he can better read the mindset of an electorate that, in fact, would rather their leaders aspire to higher reaches than higher office.

Perhaps it is time for the governor to reconnect with his *alma mater* — where he benefited from a commitment of dollars to his education. The school's website boasts, "At Harvard-Westlake, we think the search for wisdom is just as important as the pursuit of knowledge. The heart must keep pace with the head if today's students are to become tomorrow's leaders." Perhaps the governor should weigh these words of balance.

Cynthia H. Craft is managing editor of the California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* edit@statenet.com.

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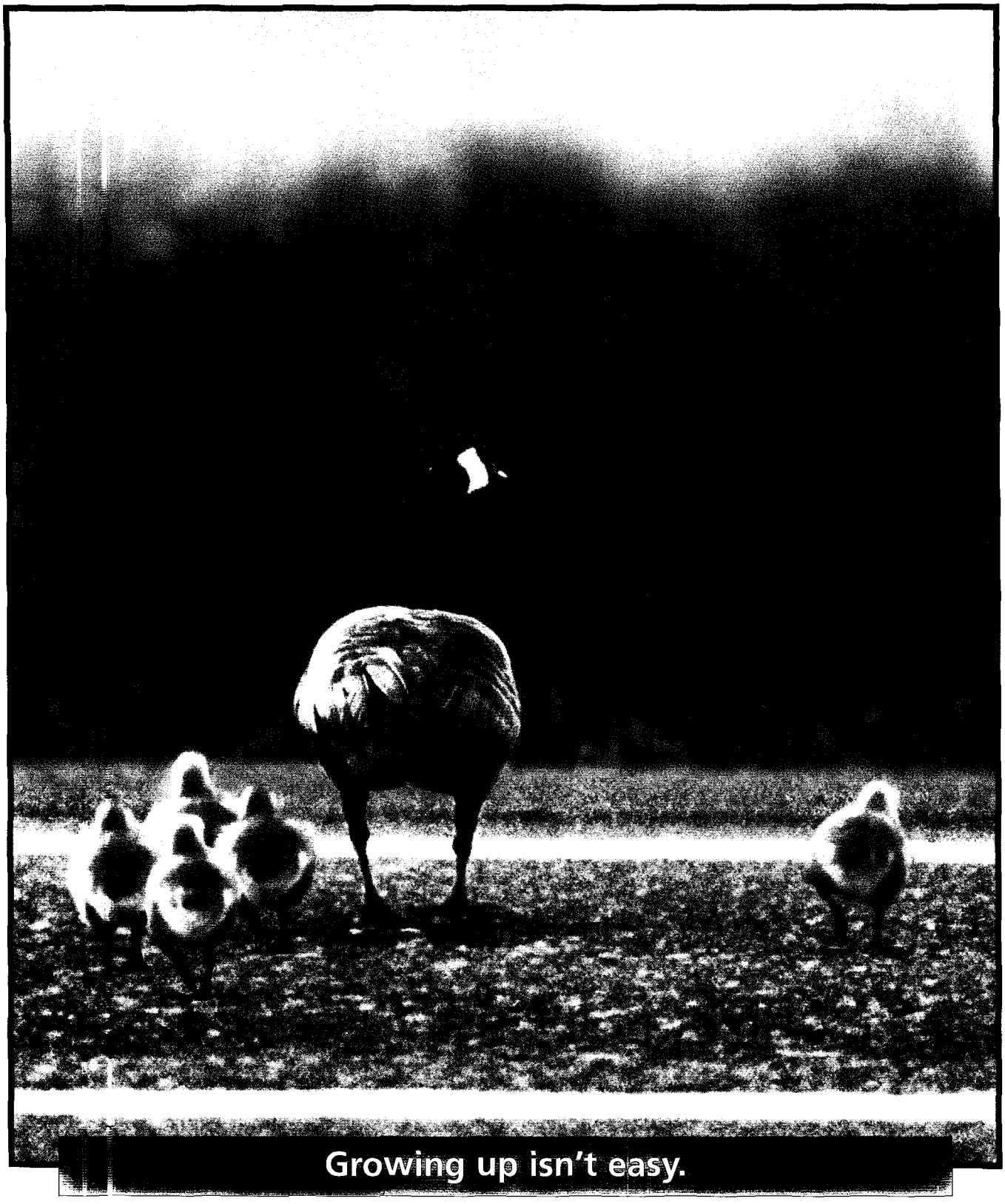

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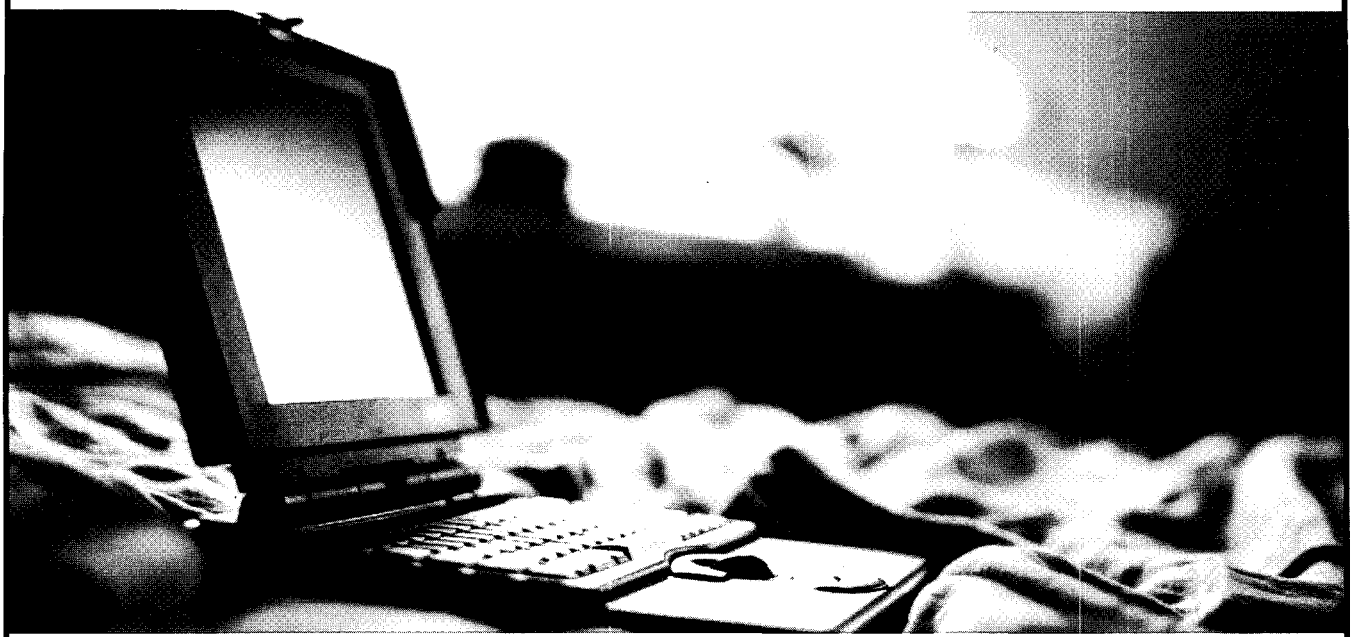

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Quackenbush left to mount his successful campaign for state insurance commissioner. Cunneen has held it ever since, and although Democrats often grumbled about taking him on, they never mounted much of a challenge. With Dando out, no candidate has very wide name recognition. District voters tend to support those who are pro-choice and fiscally conservative, and the current crop is jockeying to fit that mold. Cohn, a working mother with a background in physical therapy, is backed by the Democratic leadership, including Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa and his designated successor, Bob Hertzberg. That gives her plenty of oomph in her head-to-head with Steve Glickman, president of the Los Gatos school board, who is mostly self-funded. Republicans have a trio of contenders led by two moderates: Steve Blanton, mayor of Los Gatos; and Sue Jackson, a former operating room nurse and mayor of Monte Sereno. Both have the support of Cunneen and Congressman Tom Campbell. Donna Courtright, the most conservative of the bunch, lost to Cunneen in 1998. She is president of the Silicon Valley Taxpayers' Association, and her only hope is for Blanton and Jackson to split the moderate vote and allow her to parlay her conservative base into victory. With contested primaries on both sides, no candidate can count on crossover votes, and district independents likely will split between the parties. If Courtright sidles past her two moderate opponents to capture the GOP nomination, it will be a Pyrrhic victory, for no conservative will win the general in this district.

DISTRICT 25 (42% D - 44% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Stephen F. Rico of Madera. Republicans: Dave Cogdill of Modesto, Russell A. Harrison of Modesto, Bob Deklinski of Oakdale. Libertarian: Jonathan Zwickel of Madera.

This seat takes in the east side of Modesto, plus small chunks of Fresno and Madera, and is prime GOP country. Democrats held this seat in the early '90s, but since then Democratic registration has eroded like a sand castle in a winter storm, making the

Cogdill

Deklinski

GOP primary the real race to watch. With term limits forcing out conservative Republican George House, the battle is between Modesto councilman Dave Cogdill and former FBI agent Bob Deklinski. Cogdill got out early and racked up many of the key endorsements and much of the money supply, chasing out fellow councilman Bill Conrad last summer. With the backing of the popular House and the Assembly Republican Caucus leadership, plus the consulting firm of Russo Marsh + Rogers guiding the way, Cogdill appeared to have no serious opposition until Deklinski came along late. Deklinski's supporters include state Senator Dick Monteith and Congressman Richard Pombo, along with help from consultant Chris Jones. His 30-year law enforcement background is a plus, helping him gain endorsements from local government and law enforcement officials in the district's outlining areas. But Modesto is the hub of the seat, and that's where Cogdill is strongest, making him the favorite.

DISTRICT 26 (52% D - 33% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Dennis Cardoza of Atwater. Republican: Marshall Sanchez of Merced.

Republicans have made noise about going after Dennis Cardoza, unofficial head of the moderate Democratic caucus, but that's all they did in 1998, when Patricia Hollingsworth was left alone on her way to a 30-point drubbing by Cardoza. Could be a repeat in 2000.

DISTRICT 27 (50% D - 32% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Fred Keeley of Boulder Creek. Republican: Charles "Chuck" Carter of Monterey. Libertarian: David R. Bonino of Santa Cruz. Natural Law: Madeline De Joly of Aptos.

Democrats approached Assembly Speaker pro Tempore Fred Keeley with a blank check if he would run against incumbent Republican state Senator Bruce McPherson. They also noodled around with the notion of Keeley challenging Jim Cunneen for a congressional seat. Keeley stayed put.

DISTRICT 28 (50% D - 32% R - 15% DS)

Democrats: Sandra Pizarro and Simon Salinas, both of Salinas. Republicans: Jeffrey Denham of Salinas, Laura Perry of Morgan Hill. Libertarian: Roger Ver of San Jose. Reform: JJ Vogel of Hollister.

Pizarro

Perry

Democrats in this Steinbeck Country district tried for three elections to blast Republican Peter Frusetta out of this seat, and three times they saw their efforts end in failure. With Frusetta termed out and the district up for grabs, both parties are host to competitive primaries. The area itself is schizophrenic, with high-tech entrepreneurs in Santa Clara County lumped in with enclaves of Latinos in inland Monterey County. In the Democratic camp, former legislative staffer Sandra Pizarro, a Salinas native whose mother runs a popular local restaurant, is vying against Monterey County Supervisor Simon Salinas. Pizarro debuted with a fund-raiser attended by Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante and early on nabbed an endorsement from the Latino Caucus. She is quick to capitalize on her Sacramento ties but has plenty of work ahead in trying to shore up a local base. Ready to make hay of Pizarro's return home for a political run for office is challenger Salinas, the first Mexican-American elected to the Salinas City Council and a two-term Monterey County supervisor. Salinas, however, has a little ding in his armor to go along with strong

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local popularity and labor backing — a DUI conviction two years ago. Although Salinas publicly acknowledged the miscue during his last election, the problem likely will surface again during the primary, and that could haunt Democrats come November. Both Democrats hold ties to the Latino community in the southern half of the district, although those same ties didn't do much for Frusetta's opponents. Meanwhile, vote-rich Santa Clara County is likely to embrace Republican Laura Perry. A Gavilan College trustee and family lawyer, Perry appears a natural fit with the upscale, moderate Republicans in southern San Jose and Morgan Hill, her neck of the woods. Perry has parlayed her chamber of commerce and school ties into a long list of endorsements from local officials and school board members. More important, Frusetta himself has said the torch should pass to her. With over $200,000 in her kitty at the end of 1999 — half of it a loan from herself — Perry can expect plenty of GOP help in the fall. In the meantime, Perry has a fight against Salinas-based Republican Jeff Denham, a conservative businessman with some backing from agricultural interests as well as from state Senators John Lewis and Ray Haynes. They, however, represent Orange and Riverside counties, respectively — areas which have never meant much to voters in Steinbeck Country.

DISTRICT 29 (39% D - 47% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Lita Reid of Visalia. Republican: Incumbent Mike Briggs of Fresno. Libertarian: Ron Drioane of Fresno.

At least attorney Lita Reid is on the ballot against first-term Assemblyman Mike Briggs, who faced no Democratic opposition in 1998. Given the GOP flavor of the district, Reid will have a tough time knocking off Briggs.

DISTRICT 30 (50% D - 36% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Dean Florez of Shafter. Republican: Ken Kay of Hanford.

A quiet March on both sides, but Republicans will keep close tabs on this one to see if it's worth going after in the fall with Ken Kay, an attorney and local radio talk show host. Although registration is not to their advantage, Republicans controlled this seat until 1998 when Dean Florez knocked off Republican incumbent Bob Prenter.

DISTRICT 31 (56% D - 31% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Sarah Reyes of Fresno. Republican: Richard Guerra Cabral of Selma.

Republicans have this Fresno seat on their watch list, even though the mountain is even more daunting than in the 30th Assembly District. Rookie Democrat Sarah Reyes has hewn to a moderate profile, and it will take a wealth of resources to challenge her.

DISTRICT 32 (37% D - 50% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Virginia R. Gurrola of Porterville. Republican: Incumbent Roy Ashburn of Bakersfield. Libertarian: Ric Pinkerton of Bakersfield.

There's one election in November that Assemblyman Roy Ashburn will be worrying about, but it's not his own. Instead, Ashburn may be a contender for the Assembly Republican Caucus' top job since the current leader, Scott Baugh, is termed out. Ashburn tried to make a move against Baugh's predecessor, Rod Pacheco, in early 1999 but ultimately had to settle for backing Baugh. Ashburn is a proven fund raiser, one of the key qualifications for the top job, and currently serves as assistant Republican leader.

DISTRICT 33 (39% D - 44% R - 12% DS)

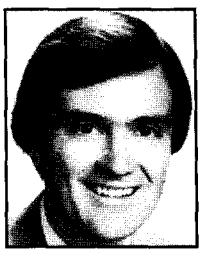
Democrat: Laurence Houlgate of San Luis Obispo. Republican: Incumbent Abel Maldonado of Santa Maria.

Incumbent Abel Maldonado's primary victory two years ago against conservative Rick Bravo wasn't as easy as it will be this time around. The former Santa Maria mayor and farmer became one of three new Latino Republicans joining the Assembly. Considering that Democrat Laurence Houlgate is out of the country until March running his primary campaign from France *(c'est la vie!)*, don't expect to hear much from him 'til the fall.

District 34 (36% D - 46% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Robert Conaway of Phelan. Republicans: James Cox of Victorville and Phil Wyman of Tehachapi.

Cox



Wyman

For the past six years, this district has been represented by moderate Republican Keith Olberg, who is departing due to term limits. Thus begins another chapter in the political odyssey of Phil Wyman. For the past two decades, Wyman never met an election he didn't like. Lately, however, most of those elections didn't like Wyman. The conservative Tehachapi rancher first won a seat in the Assembly in 1978 as a "Prop. 13 baby," serving until 1992 when he made an abortive run for Congress, narrowly losing a GOP primary to Buck McKeon. He launched a comeback in 1993 by winning a special election to the state Senate in a district that soon disappeared due to reapportionment. A year later, his attempt to hold onto the newly drawn version failed at the hands of Democrat Jim Costa, making Wyman the only Republican incumbent west of the Mississippi to lose in 1994. Two years later, he ran in yet another state Senate primary, losing to then-Assemblyman Pete Knight. Also on that '96 ballot was James Cox, who finished behind Knight and Wyman but had stopped actively campaigning after Knight joined the fray. Now, Cox and Wyman have the stage to themselves in an Assembly primary that, because of Republican dominance, will settle the overall election. Cox hails from Victorville in San Bernardino County, which makes up two-thirds of the district's population base and where Victorville is one of the larger cities. Wyman's base is Kern County, which has only 47,000 of the district's 184,000 registered voters. Philosophically, there is little distinc-

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tion between the two — both are conservatives. But his long political career affords Wyman both advantages and disadvantages. On the plus side is district-wide name recognition — no easy task in a far-flung enclave that takes in more territory than any single legislative district in the lower 48 states. He also is an experienced campaigner and fund raiser, which has allowed him to amass considerably more money than Cox. On the downside, this is a conservative district which embraced term limits, and Cox already is grumbling that Wyman keeps running for office just to pad his legislative pension. Wyman, of course, has a long track record in office, although his voting profile tends to fit district preferences. Cox, who spent 30 years as Victorville city manager, has never been elected to office but also bears the burden of a track record because of his close association with Victorville city government. Many of the district's elected representatives have lined up against Wyman, including three members of Congress — McKeon, Jerry Lewis and Bill Thomas. Of the three, only Lewis represents a substantial chunk of the district, and his endorsements have not always translated into victory at the polls. The congressmen have been joined by a boatload of local elected officials endorsing Cox. Wyman, on the other hand, has the blessing of Kathleen Honeycutt, a former legislator who retired in 1994 due to ill health but remains popular throughout the district. Olberg himself has remained studiously neutral. Ultimately, endorsements alone won't mean much for Cox, and Wyman entered the fray as the frontrunner. But Cox' heavyweight backing does have significance if it is backed with cash. If Lewis, Thomas and McKeon pony up, Wyman's current fund-raising advantage — said to be near $100,000 — will evaporate, and the race will tilt. For Cox to succeed, however, he must make Wyman the issue, and that task requires money for mail and personal appearances throughout this far-flung district. It also requires negotiating tricky territory. As in 1998, voters thus far are content with the status quo, making 2000 a good year for incumbents. Cox' task is to convince voters that Wyman is not the status quo candidate but a political retread whose constant quest for office has become a tiresome act.

Central Valley

More than anything else, the Central Valley today is about change. It is still the backbone of California's $27 billion agricultural economy. It is also a leader in suburban growth, spurring important political implications. Folks fleeing the metropolises of Southern and Northern California in search of affordable housing have fueled population explosions in Bakersfield, Fresno, Sacramento, Stockton and Modesto, causing urban boundaries to abut farmland. Not only has this growth resulted in the loss of agricultural fields, it has created transportation problems along the Highway 99 corridor, exacerbated air pollution up and down the Valley, and increased pressure in California's complicated and contentious water wars. Some Valley communities are straining under the weight of infrastructure debt for new neighborhoods that aren't producing financial returns; other areas continue to suffer from double-digit unemployment because of the seasonal inconsistencies of agriculture jobs. Along the way, the human face of the Valley is also becoming more diverse as minorities, and especially Latinos, lead those settling into the region.

Politically, growth makes the Central Valley a powerhouse, with Sacramento and Fresno key centers of influence. By now it is conventional wisdom that the road to statewide office in California winds through the region. Governor Gray Davis knew this and campaigned extensively for Valley votes on his way to a decisive victory in 1998. A critical financial player for Davis, the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, devoted $2 million to helping the moderate Democrat take the Valley from Republican Dan Lungren. Such competition between moderate Democrats and Republicans is now standard throughout the Valley, with Republicans anchored firmly in the Valley's corners — Redding in the north, Bakersfield in the south — plus parts of Fresno, Modesto and Stockton that lean the Grand Old Party's way. Democrats still control many key seats, but those who do are moderate-to-conservative Democrats whose philosophical outlook varies little from Republicans on business, farming and some environmental matters.

— Noel Brinkerhoff

DISTRICT 35 (43% D - 36% R - 15%DS)

Democrats: Incumbent Hannah-Beth Jackson of Santa Barbara, David L. Norrdin of Ventura. Republican: Robin S. Sullivan of Santa Paula. Natural Law: Eric L. Dahl of Goleta.

Two years ago, incumbent Hannah-Beth Jackson fended off the son of actor Robert Mitchum to capture this coastal seat after Republican Brooks Firestone stepped aside to make an ill-fated run for Congress. Jackson's pro-choice views on abortion served her well, given that the overlapping congressional contest focused on abortion rights. Though Jackson has worked overtime to reach out to business, agricultural and law enforcement groups and successfully passed coastal protection, toxic pollution and domestic violence bills, Republicans view her as way too liberal for a swing seat where voters see-saw between parties. Ready to take a run against Jackson is two-term Santa Paula City Councilwoman Robin Sullivan, a moderate Republican and real estate lawyer who sports a long list of local government credentials, including stints as mayor and Chamber of Commerce president. Although Jackson has a primary opponent, the fall election season is off and running. And Jackson needs a strong

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showing in the primary to demonstrate to Republicans and Democrats alike that her left-leaning message resonates with area voters.

DISTRICT 36 (35% D - 47% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Paula Calderon of Santa Clarita. Republican: Incumbent George Runner of Lancaster. Libertarian: Gregory Bashem of Lancaster.

Two-term incumbent George Runner represents the most Republican district in Los Angeles County. After November, he'll still represent it.

DISTRICT 37 (39% D - 42% R - 14% DS)

Democrats: Roz McGrath of Camarillo, Jon Sharkey of Port Hueneme. Republican: Incumbent Tony Strickland of Camarillo. Libertarian: Willard Michlin of Moorpark.

Roz McGrath, a rancher and kindergarten teacher with a long family history in the district, came within an inch of pulling off an upset against Tony Strickland two years ago in this heavily Republican Ventura County district. She is expected to breeze past Jon Sharkey, a Port Hueneme City councilman, setting up a re-match with now-Assemblyman Strickland.

DISTRICT 38 (40% D - 43% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Jon M. Lauritzen of Chatsworth. Republicans: Ross B. Hopkins of Canoga Park, Keith Stuart Richman of Sun Valley, Norm Walker of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Philip Baron of Granada Hills.

At first, the GOP contest to fill Senate-seeking Tom McClintock's seat shaped up as a real battle between Norm Walker, president of the Simi Valley school board and McClintock's former chief of staff, and Keith Richman, a physician and member of the Los Angeles County Redevelopment Commission. As the new year dawned, however, the "battle" was looking decidedly one-sided. Aided by his own hefty bank account, Richman had out-raised Walker by more than 10-to-one, and had locked up endorsements ranging from L.A. Mayor Richard Riordan to the entire Simi Valley City Council to the Association of Los Angeles County Deputy Sheriffs (ALADS). Walker hadn't even locked up the backing of his former boss at this writing. Ross Hopkins, who ran against McClintock in 1996, still carries debt from that contest, and is not expected to be a factor in the race, nor will Democrat Jon Lauritzen be one in the fall against the GOP nominee.

DISTRICT 39 (62% D - 20% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Tony Cardenas of San Fernando. Republican: Enrique (Henry) Valdez of Arleta. Libertarian: Christopher "Kit" Maira of San Fernando.

Tony Cardenas flirted with the idea of mounting a challenge to Bob Hertzberg's election as successor to outgoing Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. He eventually backed off in return for a promised Democratic leadership role, which he'll have the luxury of developing without worrying about this year's election.

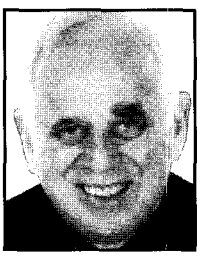
DISTRICT 40 (54% D - 26% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Bob Hertzberg of Sherman Oaks. Republicans: Eunice L. DeLeuw of Encino, Kyle Hammans of Van Nuys. Libertarian: Kelley L. Ross of Van Nuys.

Bob Hertzberg, a two-term incumbent, has little to fear from either Eunice DeLeuw or Kyle Hammans — whichever Republican wins the primary will merely be a name on the ballot in November. Nonetheless, this is still an important election for Hertzberg. Within weeks of the primary, he will formally take over the speakership from Antonio Villaraigosa, his longtime friend and Sacramento roommate. As steward of the Assembly Democrats' election campaign, Hertzberg likely will spend more time playing defense than his predecessor, who benefitted two years ago from a huge top-of-the-ticket surge for Gray Davis. A potent fundraiser in his own right, Hertzberg starts the campaign season with a $1.5 million handoff from Villaraigosa. Few expect Republicans to manage the eight-seat switch needed to take control of the lower house, but a greater-than-expected dip in Democratic numbers could make things a bit uncomfortable for the newly minted speaker.

DISTRICT 41 (49% D - 33% R - 13% DS)

Democrats: S. David Freeman, Brenda F. Gottfried, Tony Vazquez and William Wallace, all of Santa Monica; Fran Pavley of Agoura Hills. Republicans: Stefan "Stu" Stitch of Santa Monica, Jayne Murphy Shapiro of Tarzana. Libertarian: Colin S. Goldman of Santa Monica.



Freeman

Shapiro

Despite its relatively modest number of registered Democrats, this district, which stretches from Santa Monica over the mountains and into the southwestern San Fernando Valley, has given solid margins to the likes of U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer. When termed-out state Senator Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica) was shopping districts for a possible return to the Assembly, this was the first place he looked. But Hayden's baggage, and the unwillingness of other Democratic candidates to vacate the field, sent Hayden elsewhere — first to the adjacent 42nd, and eventually out of the race entirely. That fleeting bit of intrigue notwithstanding, the early line in the race favored Freeman, until recently the head of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. After serving as director of the Tennessee Valley Authority under President Lyndon Johnson, Freeman built a career as a relief pitcher for broken utility companies, and was generally considered effective at D.W.P. Nonetheless, people love to hate their utilities, perhaps one reason why he chose the more enigmatic "Natural Resources Manager" as his ballot designation. Still, Freeman's picture appeared on an extensive D.W.P. mailing touting green power, a few of which showed up in non-DWP mailboxes in the district. Picking at Freeman on this and other issues are Tony Vazquez, a former Santa Monica councilman, and Fran Pavley, who was the first-ever mayor

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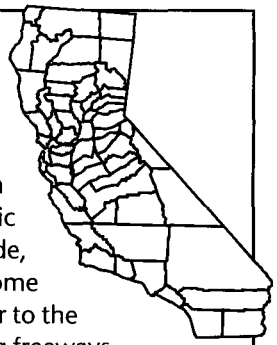
of Agoura Hills. A liberal with strong labor backing from the L.A. Federation of Labor Committee on Political Education (COPE), Vazquez actually lost his Santa Monica City Council seat because he was too *liberal* — no mean feat in the city that was Hayden's political nest. Pavley, a public school teacher, is an appointee to the California Coastal Commission. Her endorsement from the Sierra Club undercuts Freeman's effort to portray himself as the environmentalist in a contest where such issues have weight. Though less of a factor, Brenda Gottfried, a member of the Santa Monica school board, could draw votes away from the other three. William Wallace, a psychologist, is not considered a competitive candidate. Freeman will likely outraise all comers, but another well-financed candidate will be Republican Jane Shapiro. Moderate, pro-choice and founder of the child advocacy group KIDS SAFE, Shapiro is seen by Republicans as a genuine contender with the potential to catch fire in the fall if Democrats falter. Given the district's past performance, that may be wishful thinking.

San Francisco Bay Area



Called the jewel of the north, the many-county San Francisco Bay Area contains some of state's most famous landmarks — and some of its quirkiest politics. The region that encircles the San Francisco Bay is an area brimming with cultural and ethnic diversity, economic vitality and technological innovation. On the downside, the region offers a stark illustration of a growing income gap, clarified when the richest of the rich live next door to the poorest of the poor. With 6 million residents cramming freeways, bridges and Main Streets, the Bay Area ranks as the nation's fourth-largest metropolitan region. It is noted for world-class universities, top-flight research laboratories, a highly skilled and educated work force and its wealth of industries — these days tending toward outgrowths of the South- of-Market hub known as Multimedia Gulch. But the region pays a price for its prosperity. As its population exploded, development pushed away from urban centers to far-flung suburbs in the North, East and South Bay. Sprawl spawned astronomical housing prices, hellacious commutes and dirtier air. Quality-of-life issues such as schools, transportation, housing and pollution rank high among concerns that voters expect their incumbents to address if they want to avert the "throw-the-bums-out" mentality of a demanding electorate. The area's political power base is shifting away from San Francisco's core, where Mayor Willie Brown Jr., the former Democratic Assembly Speaker, recently faced one of his toughest tests in seeking re-election. Clout has spread outward to communities such as Oakland, with its new mayor, former Governor Jerry Brown, and to neighboring Silicon Valley, today a political entity in its own right. The region is predominantly Democratic, with a few moderate-to-conservative pockets, mainly in the affluent, largely white suburbs.

— *Emelyn Rodriguez*

DISTRICT 42 (56% D - 23% R - 17% DS)

Democrats: Paul Koretz of West Hollywood, Daniel J. Stone and Amanda F. Susskind of Los Angeles. Republican: Douglas Cleon Taylor of Riverside. Libertarian: Mark Allen Selzer of Los Angeles. Natural Law: Ivka Adam of Los Angeles. Green: Sara Amir of Los Angeles.

Koretz

Susskind

Six years ago, this tony West Los Angeles district, which includes both Beverly Hills and West Hollywood, was the scene of a seven-candidate Democratic primary that chewed through some $1.5 million and was eventually won by then-L.A. Community College board member Wally Knox. With Assemblyman Knox termed out, the primary field is smaller, but at the rate they're going, the spending could wind up about the same, one reason why termed-out Senator Tom Hayden, after initially filing to run in the seat, bowed out here as he had earlier in the 41st. Paul Koretz, a West Hollywood City Council member, was one of those 1994 warriors, and has since built a reputation as an NRA-slayer. Seen as the liberal in the race, Koretz is backed by a range of traditional labor and environmental groups, as well as key figures in the district's Jewish community, including L.A. County Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky. His campaign expects to raise and spend upwards of half a million dollars. Also shooting for the half-million club is Amanda Susskind, a Los Angeles lawyer who served as city attorney for Agoura Hills. Active in women's groups, Susskind has the endorsement of the National Women's Political Caucus, as well as L.A. Mayor Richard Riordan. Daniel Stone is a physician, running as the non-lawyer in the race. His emphasis on health-care issues figures to strike a chord with the district's sizable senior population, and his "doctor-in-the-house" persona is matched by fund raising that is more than competitive with the other two. Conventional wisdom in Democratic primaries is that a three-way race pitting two men against one woman favors the woman. But Koretz has a base in West Hollywood and Stone has a unique appeal. With three well-financed candidates running in a relatively homogenous district, this is a race where everyone — candidates and consultants alike — will have to work hard for every vote.

DISTRICT 43 (45% D - 35% R - 15% DS)

Democrats: Dario J. Frommer of Los Angeles, John Hisserich and Paul

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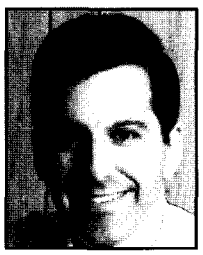
Krekorian of Burbank. Republicans: Mark MacCarley, Liz Michael and Craig Harry Missakian, all of Glendale.

Frommer

Krekorian

MacCarley


Missakian

It's a two-sided primary in this Glendale-centered suburban district, though demographic trends suggest there is more at stake in the Democratic contest. This seat is one of the dominoes that fell when state Senator Adam Schiff (D-Burbank) decided to run for Congress, and the district's Democratic incumbent, Scott Wildman, passed on a third term to run for Schiff's seat. Dario Frommer, a Latino lawyer, is a veteran of Democratic Party wars, having served most recently as the appointments secretary to Governor Gray Davis. Arriving late to the race, Frommer still posted impressive fund-raising numbers by the end of the year and by most accounts has been working hard to re-establish his *bona fides* in the district where he grew up. Paul Krekorian is an entertainment lawyer and former chair of Glendale's Ethics Commission. He has been a fixture in the region's Armenian community, as well as local Democratic Party politics. John Hisserich, a USC health administrator, loaned his campaign $50,000 early, but has had some trouble getting fund-raising traction since Frommer's entry into the field. Frommer's election is a major priority for the Legislature's Latino Caucus — another Latino victory in an area previously represented by Anglos. But Krekorian also claims a demographic edge among the growing population of Armenian immigrants. An extensive voter-registration drive last year resulted in the election of an Armenian Democrat to the Glendale City Council, the first time ever. Local activists launched a drive to register 25,000 new Armenian voters in 2000 and Krekorian likely would attract most of those votes. But there is another Armenian on the ballot — Republican Craig Missakian. A prosecutor with the Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office, Missakian ran for the same seat in 1996, finishing sixth in an eight-person field. So far, he hasn't picked up enough fund-raising steam to match Frommer, but he has out-raised most Republicans in the field. Mark MacCarley, an attorney with his own array of community activist credentials, seeded his campaign with $15,000 of his own money and there's reportedly more where that came from. Liz Michael, a neo-libertarian transsexual who runs a computer company and wrestles part-time (as The Taskmistress), is not expected to compete for the Republican nomination, though she did win the endorsement of an Arizona gun-rights group. Frommer's work ethic and Sacramento firepower have made him the early favorite, but he will need to spend a lot of time reinforcing his early roots in a district that likes to go with the local person. Missakian's past campaigns give him a name-recognition edge on the GOP side, but whomever wins the GOP nod will have a tough time convincing the party's Sacramento pooh-bahs to spend caucus resources in a district that is becoming solid Democratic territory.

DISTRICT 44 (45% D - 37% R - 13% DS)

Democrats: Barry Gordon, Victor M. Franco Jr. and Diana Peterson- More of Pasadena, Carol Liu of La Canada-Flintridge. Republicans: Damian Aaron Jones of Pasadena, Susan Carpenter McMillan of San Marino, Robert Wagner of South Pasadena. Libertarian: Jerry Douglas of Montrose.

When Democrat Jack Scott won this Pasadena-based seat in 1996, the victory was considered something of a Democratic landmark: He'd not only

Gordon

Liu

unseated a Republican incumbent, but he'd also established a Democratic beach head in the GOP's once-safe suburban confines. Four years later, Democratic strength has grown and there are more than a few locals who believe the Democratic primary will be where the successor for Scott, who passed on re-election to run for Adam Schiff's Senate seat, will be determined. The Democratic race is a three-way affair. The best known to this point is Barry Gordon, an attorney and actor who once headed the Screen Actors Guild. Gordon's name identification in the district comes less from his character-actor pedigree than it does from his near-miss congressional campaign two years ago against Representative Jim Rogan. Gordon has played the Democratic power game to perfection, locking up a batch of labor and legislative endorsements. As of this writing, Gordon is the only white male to enjoy the backing of the Legislature's Latino Caucus. His best-funded rival is La Canada-Flintridge Mayor Carol Liu. The wife of a former Southern California Edison CEO, Liu has seeded her campaign with $200,000 in loans, and is expected to dump more into the race before it's over. But she also lays claim to a fund-raising base in the Asian community and has a number of prominent Asian leaders on her side, including Sacramento Congressman Bob Matsui. Positioned in the "spoiler" role is Diana Peterson-More, an Altadena businesswoman. Describing herself as the "pro-business Democrat" in the race, Peterson-More lags behind the other two in fund raising, having put together "only" $100,000 to this point. But she has been active in the National Women's Political Caucus locally and won its endorsement, which could earn her some attention. Both Peterson-More and Liu face a

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challenge in overcoming Gordon's name recognition. Liu has a geographic base in La Canada and its environs, but that's not even a quarter of the district. Most of the the candidates' serious attention will be focused on Pasadena, South Pasadena and Altadena, the more working-class areas with higher concentrations of Democrats. On the Republican side, the handicapping is a bit easier. Susan Carpenter McMillan, a local businesswoman and public relations consultant, is a familiar face to CNN viewers, having served as the public spokeswoman for Paula Jones during Jones' sexual harassment suit against President Bill Clinton. Susan Carpenter McMillan's entry into the race was welcomed by some GOP conservatives, but reportedly didn't sit well with Rogan, who is trying to soften memories of his involvement in the Clinton impeachment trial. Republicans tried mightily to induce Altadena Mayor Bill Thompson to enter the race, but he ultimately decided against it. That left Damien Jones, a local GOP activist and ally of former Governor Pete Wilson. Although he has a profile within the party, most of the early betting has McMillan winning the GOP primary.

DISTRICT 45 (62% D - 17% R - 15% DS)

Democrats: Antonio De la Rosa, Jackie Goldberg, and Cesar A. Portillo, all of Los Angeles.

Goldberg

Portillo

About five and a half years ago, Antonio Villaraigosa was propelled on his path toward the Assembly speakership with a come-from-behind primary victory in the East Los Angeles Latino stronghold he now represents. His victory came at the expense of non-Latino Bill Mabie, chief-of-staff for then-Assemblyman Richard Polanco, and it was Villaraigosa's Latino heritage that generally received a sizable share of credit for that victory. That was then — this is now. With his speakership at an end and a year of coalition-building ahead for a mayoral run, it is Villaraigosa who has backed as his Assembly replacement a non-Latino. Goldberg, Villaraigosa's pick, is a Los Angeles City Councilwoman, a former LAUSD school board member, the author of L.A.'s living wage ordinance and a frequent thorn in the side of Mayor Richard Riordan. Also boasting the support of L.A. Supervisor Gloria Molina and the United Farm Workers, Goldberg has proven to be a proficient fund raiser in the early going, closing out 1999 with well over $300,000. Her council district, roughly half of which overlaps the Assembly district, is the most ethnically diverse in the city, and she also has a history of raising money from the entertainment community. Her "Antonio Villaraigosa", if you will, is Cesar Portillo, a government affairs officer for an AIDS health-care center. A former kindergarten teacher, Portillo has, in addition to Polanco's backing, the support of key members of the Legislature's Latino Caucus, including Assemblyman Tony Cardenas. As Cardenas did in his first Assembly run, Portillo plans to run to the right of Goldberg on a few key issues, emphasizing his support for the death penalty. One distinction of the Goldberg-Portillo match-up is that both are openly gay. Goldberg was, in fact, the first open homosexual to win election to the Los Angeles City Council. The third Democrat on the ballot, de la

Silicon Valley

The epicenter of high-tech industry and the economic engine driving Northern California, Silicon Valley has emerged from the shadow of the Bay Area, forging its own identity and distinctive brand of political clout. Centered in Santa Clara County, the region spans portions of Alameda, San Mateo and Santa Cruz counties. It includes cities such as San Jose, Santa Clara, Campbell, Milpitas, Sunnyvale and Los Gatos. It is home to more than 2 million people and the highest concentration of high-tech companies in the world. It is an area noted for its wealth and dynamism, its relatively young, entrepreneurial population and its diverse communities of residents from such countries as India, the Philippines, China and Taiwan.

The dark side of this success manifests itself as one of the priciest housing markets in the country, where salaries fail to cover the costs of what might be regarded elsewhere as middle-class living. Other problems arising from too much wealth in too small an area include clogged roads and freeways, crowded schools and heightened pollution levels. While coping with physical growing pains, the region is developing a nascent political consciousness and influence. Silicon Valley has become Mecca for politicians looking for political contributions and support, as evidenced by frequent visits from presidential candidates Vice President Al Gore and Texas Gov. George W. Bush and a seemingly omnipresent guest list of congressional visitors arriving to pay homage to high-tech's entrepreneurs. It is seen in the intense lobbying efforts of the business community to import foreign workers through the H-1B visa program — and to retain tax breaks for research and development. And it is illustrated by the political maneuverings of wealthy entrepreneurs Ron Unz — champion of ending widespread bilingual education and campaign finance reform — and Reed Hastings, the main backer of a March ballot initiative to lower the threshold for approving local school bonds. All in all, the region hosts a Democratic leaning but independent-thinking, moderate electorate.

— Emelyn Rodriguez

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Rosa, ran in the 1994 race as well, but withdrew in deference to Villaraigosa. This time, he withdrew in deference to Portillo, but didn't get out quickly enough to get his name taken off the ballot. That's a bad break for Portillo — not only is there another Latino male's name on the ballot, but it's a name that sounds enough like the outgoing incumbent's to potentially create some confusion. The stakes are significant for Polanco, for whom the contest is something of a grudge match. But the stakes are even higher for Villaraigosa, an announced candidate for mayor of Los Angeles. Backing a non-Latino in a district with a demonstrated record of picking Latinos over non-Latinos is a major test of his ability to move a constituency that most analysts in Los Angeles believe will ultimately form his base in the mayor's race.

DISTRICT 46 (65% D - 15% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Gil Cedillo. Republican: Matt Brown. Both of Los Angeles.

And now for something completely different, a no-brainer, both in the primary and the general.

DISTRICT 47 (71% D - 13% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Herb Wesson of Los Angeles. Republican: Jonathan Leonard of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Scott Pacer of Long Beach.

What do you know about that? Another easy call, both in March and in November.

DISTRICT 48 (81% D - 6% R - 8% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Roderick "Rod" Wright. Republican: Ernest Woods. Both of Los Angeles.

This one's even *more* clear-cut, both now and for the foreseeable future.

DISTRICT 49 (58% D - 22% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Gloria Romero of Los Angeles.

You know, maybe this job isn't so tough after all.

DISTRICT 50 (69% D - 14% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Marco Antonio Firebaugh of Los Angeles. Republican: Gladys O. Miller of Southgate.

Marco Firebaugh, a favorite of the Legislature's Latino Caucus, had to endure a tougher-than- anticipated primary two years ago. It's been smooth sailing ever since, and will continue to be in 2000.

DISTRICT 51 (68% D - 16% R - 11% DS)

Democrats: Wanda Marie Brown, Judy Dunlap, Jose Fernandez, Jerome E. Horton, Thomasina Reed, all of Inglewood; Trini Jiminez of Los Angeles. Republican: Antoine Hawkins of Los Angeles.

Four years ago, when this urban Los Angeles County district was last open, the contest was won by then-Inglewood Mayor Ed Vincent. This year, with Vincent headed off for a Senate run, it seems like most of the municipal government of Inglewood is running, as the field includes three city council members and the city treasurer. In the dwindling number of districts where African-American politicians still dominate, much of the action centers around the Legislative Black Caucus, which this year decided to coordinate its endorsements with congressional leaders, such as Representative Maxine Waters. Here, most of that action has been focused on Horton, one of the three Inglewood City Council members. A CPA by profession, Horton has emphasized his anti-crime record on the council, an issue literally close to the heart, as he took a stray bullet several years ago in a drive-by shooting. Though Waters and Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke are officially neutral in the race, the Black Caucus is united behind Horton, though Senator Teresa Hughes dual-endorsed Horton and Reed, a local school board member. Reed ran for the seat in 1996 and finished as the runner-up to Vincent, but so far her fund raising for this race has lagged. Fernandez and Dunlap, who also serve on the Inglewood City Council, have had similar trouble developing traction in the contest. Despite his best efforts, Fernandez has failed to interest the Latino Caucus in participating in this race, telling since they were active in this very race four years ago. The backing of the Black Caucus should land Horton on most of the slates that circulate throughout the district, and slates are somewhat more important in this area than elsewhere in the state. But Horton may ultimately be helped more by the labor endorsements, in a district with some 40,000 union households. Republican Hawkins gets to read his name on the ballot twice when he goes to vote, but that will be about it for his impact on the race.

DISTRICT 52 (74% D - 10% R - 9% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Carl Washington of Paramount. Republicans: Mark Anthony Iles and Joe Taylor, both of Los Angeles.

Why there would be a Republican even running in this seat, much less two, is a mystery.

DISTRICT 53 (41% D - 38% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent George Nakano of Torrance. Republican: Gerald N. Felando of Torrance. Libertarian: Phil Howitt of Los Angeles.

No primary to talk about in this Beach Cities-based district, but the fall campaign should provide some entertainment value with Gerald Felando, a former assemblyman, in the race. Felando was one of the hip-pocket Republicans of former Democratic Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, until Brown turned on him in 1992 when reapportionment made his seat winnable for the Democrats.

DISTRICT 54 (45% D - 37% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Alan Lowenthal of Long Beach. Republicans: Sanford W. Kahn of Long Beach, Rudy Svorinich Jr. of San Pedro. Libertarian: Dale F. Ogden of San Pedro.

The only primary in the race for this Long Beach-based swing district is on the Republican side, and it's not much of one. Rudy Svorinich was recruited and endorsed early by Assembly Republicans, who believe they have a good shot at taking out Alan Lowenthal, the former Long Beach councilman. Sanford Kahn, a mechanical engineer, won't force Svorinich to spend much money, but

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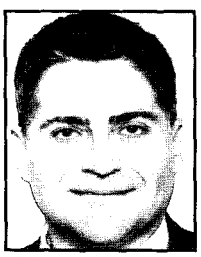
expect a long general election campaign focusing on Lowenthal's surprisingly liberal voting record.

DISTRICT 55 (66% D - 17% R - 12% DS)

Democrats: R. Keith McDonald and Carl E. Robinson of Carson, Jenny Oropeza of Long Beach, Eddie Tabash of Harbor City. Republican: Saul E. Lankster of Compton. Libertarian: Guy Wilson of Carson.

Oropeza


Tabash

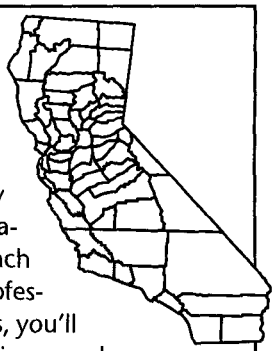
A blue-collar stronghold in the southwestern portion of Los Angeles County, this predominantly Democratic district is centered around Carson, but also contains slivers of Compton and Long Beach. Its elective history is eventful, having begun the decade with a three-way donnybrook that elected then-Assemblywoman Juanita McDonald-Millender. The last two seasons, the district has been represented by the always-entertaining Dick Floyd (D-Hawthorne). With Floyd termed out and running for Senate in another district altogether, a klatch of Democrats are running to replace him. The candidate with the biggest head of steam in the early going appears to be Jenny Oropeza, a Long Beach City Council member and a second-generation Latina. Oropeza has cornered a batch of labor, law enforcement and public official endorsements including L.A. Mayor Richard Riordan and state Senator Debra Bowen (D-Marina Del Rey). Probably the best-known of her opponents is R. Keith McDonald, an international investment consultant who once played pro football. McDonald, the son of now-Representative McDonald-Millender, lost to Floyd in the primary four years ago, but wound up serving as a part-time staffer for Floyd, who supports his former adversary's campaign. Picking away at both Oropeza and McDonald from the sidelines is Compton Community College trustee Carl Robinson, a perennial legislative candidate, who so far has raised relatively little money. But the real wild card in the contest is Eddie Tabash, a civil rights attorney with a background as an abortion-rights activist. Tabash ran for Assembly in 1994 in the Santa Monica-based 41st District, and polled that same district last year about a possible run. Apparently, the poll told him to move to Harbor City, and since relocating he has spent a good chunk of his own money setting up a campaign operation. The carpetbagging rap will likely surface against Tabash during the campaign, but since both McDonald and Oropeza moved into the district relatively recently themselves, it's not expected to be a major issue. More effective will be Oropeza's labor endorsements in a blue-collar district with lots of union households. Her city government bona fides will only go so far, however, as only a relatively small portion of her Long Beach council district overlaps the 55th. McDonald and Robinson both have some name recognition because of their past races and McDonald because of his mother. But Tabash's potential to self-finance makes him the one to watch in this field, as everyone waits to see what bombs he will drop, and when he will drop them.

DISTRICT 56 (51% D - 33% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Sally Havice of Cerritos. Republicans: Grace Hu of Cerritos, Daniel K. Wong of Norwalk.

Looks like another tough fight this fall for Sally Havice, the ever-endangered incumbent in this working-class district bordering Long Beach. Grace Hu, a Cerritos city councilwoman and

Central Coast



On its face, California's Central Coast appears to be a neatly stitched pastoral patchwork of coastal panoramas on the west and gently rolling hills embroidered with picturesque farms on the east. But within this coastal stretch running between Monterey and Ventura counties, lie two Californias that are separated by the Coast Range. To the west are upscale beach communities comprised largely of well-educated professionals, many with university ties. Cross the mountains, you'll find struggling farm communities with increasingly Latino populations working in agriculture, having more in common with Central Valley folk than their neighbors to the west. Although voter registration in these Central Coast districts would seem to favor Democrats, political persuasions ebb and flow. Districts on the inland side are anchored mostly by working-class Democrats, while those on the coastal stretches are largely populated by moderate, affluent Republicans. Fiscally conservative and socially liberal, these Republicans make for swing districts that have flip-flopped between parties during the last decade. These coastal dwellers can be as concerned about environmental issues affecting the natural beauty of their shoreline as they are loathe to support new taxes. Whatever their inclination in a particular election, they tend to be the tail wagging the dog.

Increasingly, quality-of-life issues related to development or clogged roadways resonate with these voters, such as in Ventura County where some of the most sweeping urban growth measures were adopted last year. And sometimes an election can hang on one issue as it did last year when Democrat Lois Capps (D-Santa Barbara) won her deceased husband's congressional seat after voters made a choice between her support of abortion rights and the fervent anti-abortion rights stance of her opponent. But politicians who can bridge both worlds and strike a moderate pitch sink political roots that are hard to dislodge.

— Kathleen Les

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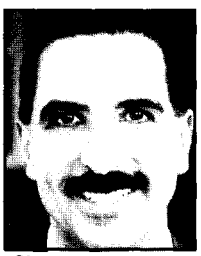
local Realtor, will have strong backing from the Assembly Republican Caucus, as it seeks to acquire a more diverse face. Daniel Wong, a perennial candidate, will not keep Hu from her November date with Havice. The good news for Havice is that, because of term limits, this is the last time she'll have to run this particular gauntlet.

DISTRICT 57 (56% D - 25% R - 15% DS)

Democrats: Edward "Ed" Chavez of La Puente, Tony Fellow and Patricia A. (Pat) Wallach of El Monte, Manuel Lozano of Baldwin Park. Republican: Katherine Licari Venturoso of Hacienda Heights.


Chavez

Fellow

This southern San Gabriel Valley district loses its chiropractor/assemblyman, Martin Gallegos. His successor is guaranteed to be somebody with experience, as all four Democratic candidates have local government ties. Most of the Latino political establishment has rallied around Edward Chavez, an aide to Gallegos who also serves as mayor of La Puente. In addition to Senator Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles) and most of the Latino Caucus, Chavez has the backing of labor's SEIU and COPE, both of which have a history of playing big in the area. Manuel Lozano, the mayor of Baldwin Park, lacks Chavez' large stable of supporters, but has a geographic edge, as Baldwin Park provides more votes than La Puente. Tony Fellow finished second to Gallegos in the 1994 primary, coming within about 600 votes. An El Monte councilman, Fellow enjoys the backing of one of the district's legendary political figures, former Assemblywoman Sally Tanner, and would expect to enjoy a geographic base because of El Monte's size. But Patricia Wallach, the former mayor of El Monte, is also in the race, by most accounts because she can't stand Fellow. Though she won't have any money to speak of, she could pull some El Monte votes away from Fellow, and she also benefits by being a woman running in a field of men. None of the candidates save Chavez has been able to put up substantial fund-raising numbers. Given the heft of his backing, Chavez would seem to have a leg up on the field. With all the local intrigues, the race should be a lively one.

DISTRICT 58 (62% D - 23% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Thomas M. Calderon of Montebello. Republican: Alex A. Burrola of Whittier.

Thomas Calderon, the freshman incumbent, gets his ticket punched for another term.

DISTRICT 59 (39% D - 43% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Meline Dolores Hall of Covina. Republicans: Walt Allen of Covina, Robert C. (Bob) Harbicht and Joann E. Steinmeier of Arcadia, Dennis Mountjoy of Monrovia, Al Leiga of Claremont, Khalil Khalil of Los Angeles. Libertarian: George White of San Dimas. Natural Law: Louise M. Allison of Claremont.

Steinmeier

Mountjoy

You would think that when three local city council members and a school board member line up against a businessman with no great personal wealth and no electoral experience, the businessman would be up a creek, right? Well, not if the businessman's father has been a fixture in the area for two decades. Dennis Mountjoy is the son of area Senator Richard Mountjoy, an arch-conservative and gadfly for various conservative causes, with special attention to immigration and English-only initiatives. By most accounts, the younger Mountjoy is ideologically in tune with the old man. And the good senator, whose attempt to get around term limits was squashed by the courts, has been raising lobbyist money for his son like he never did for himself. Most of the other candidates had been running for months before Mountjoy entered the contest. The best known, and best funded, of the alternatives is Joann Steinmeier, an Arcadia school board member who also serves on the Commission on State Mandates. Her twin responsibilities meshed late last year when she played a role in convincing Governor Gray Davis to negotiate the return of about $1.6 billion in special education money to local school districts. Robert Harbicht, an Arcadia councilman who also heads a research company, put up some of his own money early, but that was before Mountjoy entered the fray. Walt Allen is a police officer and city councilman from Covina. More moderate than Mountjoy and an African American, Allen is the secret choice of much of the state's GOP establishment. Not only would he add some diversity to the party's legislative ranks, his election would be a neat PR coup against the Democrats, who have seen the size of their Black Caucus diminish over time. Alas for the pooh-bahs, Allen has so far had trouble raising enough to be competitive, especially with the elder Mountjoy pounding the pavement for his progeny. Steinmeier has been much more effective raising money, and should be competitive in the mail and elsewhere. But voting for a Mountjoy has become something of a habit in the area. Even if there were a backlash against the elder Mountjoy's attempt to anoint his kid, there may be just too many others in the race splitting the opposition.

DISTRICT 60 (43% D - 39% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Jeff A. Duhamel of La Mirada. Republican: Incumbent Robert "Bob" Pacheco of Walnut. Libertarian: Scott E. Young of La Mirada.

Once a Republican lock, this eastern San Gabriel Valley district is seen as potentially competitive by Democrats because of the movement of new Latino and Asian voters into the area. When Pacheco was toying with a state Senate run, Democrats did some scout-

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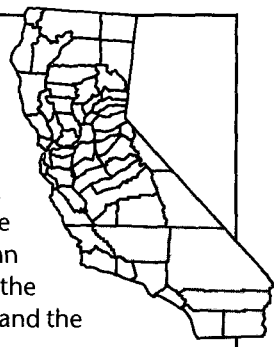
ing, but once the incumbent decided to stay put, the recruitment ended.

DISTRICT 61 (46% D - 37% R - 13% DS)

Democrats: Paul Vincent Avila of Ontario and Gloria Negrete McLeod of Chino. Republicans: Eddie Cortez of Pomona, Bob DeMallie of Ontario and Dennis Yates of Chino. Libertarian: David Kocot of Ontario.

The thud that sounded in this district is that of the last domino falling, for it lies at the end of a chain of events set in motion last summer by the death of longtime Democratic Congressman George Brown Jr. Brown's vacancy was filled in a special election by Democratic state Senator Joe Baca, who left yet another vacancy and yet another special election. Into the Senate fray stepped Democratic Assemblywoman Nell Soto, who represented this district and who gave up her re-election to run for the upper house. Soto was the first Democrat to win the 61st in the 1990s, having captured it in 1998 after longtime Republican incumbent Fred Aguiar was termed out and her departure left Democrats scrambling for a viable alternative. Paul Avila is a perennial bud who has never flowered, losing to Aguiar in 1996 and getting creamed three-to-one by Baca in the 1998 Senate primary. Gloria Negrete McLeod worked in Baca's Senate office and has received local Democratic support, but she lost the '98 primary to Soto by some 1,200 votes. She has the upper hand in the primary. Desperate Democrats even tried to lure former state Senator Ruben Ayala out of retirement. Not only did Ayala stay out, his son, Maurice, clouded the Democratic horizon by running as an independent. He will not appear on the March ballot and has until this summer to accumulate the signatures necessary to put his name before voters in November. With a chance to regain the seat, the real action is on the GOP side. Assembly Republicans prevailed on Pomona Mayor Eddie Cortez to run and sought to clear the field for him, promising ample resources for his campaign. Cortez has been endorsed by Assembly Minority Leader Scott Baugh and most of the GOP caucus, in addition to state Senator Jim Brulte. But Cortez' open path to the goal was blocked at the last minute by Chino Councilman Dennis Yates, who dropped papers during the filing extension caused when Soto decided not to run. Also in the race is Bob DeMallie, a conservative who lost to Soto in 1998. With DeMallie firmly ensconced on the political right, Cortez and Yates will jockey for the middle and appeal to Democratic crossovers and the 13 percent of local registered voters who consider themselves non-aligned. Not much separates them politically on key district issues such as education, local-government finance and infrastructure repair, and each considers himself moderate on gun control, abortion and school vouchers. The race, therefore, is likely to turn on the fulcrums of geography and resources. In terms of geography, the district is

Inland Empire



Stretched across the desert and mountain lands east of California's teeming coastal counties lies a immense, sparsely populated region known as the "Inland Empire." Its counties evoke a rural bearing, a California of farms and ranches, oil derricks and orange groves and vast, rugged emptiness — Riverside, San Bernardino, Imperial, Inyo, Mono, Kern. Herein lies the Mojave Desert and Death Valley, Sequoia National Park and the Owens Valley, Needles and Palm Springs.

The Inland Empire was built on agriculture, but its recent history is one of sweeping suburban growth. Although the area has traditionally been home to a large Latino population, white, middle-class families — refugees from Orange, San Diego and Los Angeles counties to the west — came during the 1970s and '80s, drawn to the region's open spaces and cheaper housing. New and expanded communities exploded, nearly whole and formed, onto its map — Moreno Valley, Rancho Cucamonga, Ontario, Chino Hills, Twenty-Nine Palms, Corona, Hemet, Murietta. They exist today side-by-side with older cities such as San Bernardino and Riverside, which are plagued with decay and high crime rates.

Consequently, the word "infrastructure" does not cause area residents' eyes to glaze over, and issues involving growth — land-use planning, transportation, water, development, education — are key for area elected officials at all levels.

Economically, the area was hammered by the recession, especially in aerospace, and also deeply affected by the 1990s crusade to downsize the military. As a result, parts of the area have not shared in the '90s prosperity or recovery.

Politically, the region had always been firmly Republican, with a smattering of urban Democratic enclaves. But Inland Empire Republicans are anything but a homogenous group. The newcomers brought with them a brand of conservative politics that often clashed with older, more established local views, prompting often-fierce skirmishes between moderates and conservatives in area Republican primaries.

During the latter half of the 1990s, Latinos, too, began to flex political muscle in many of the area's legislative and congressional districts, and this activism has helped make the Democratic Party more competitive. In 1998, for instance, the 61st Assembly District, centered around Chino, fell into Democratic hands for the first time in the decade. In addition, Democratically held districts — such as the 42nd congressional, 32nd senatorial and 62nd Assembly — have dropped on GOP priority lists.

— A.G. Block

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split between San Bernardino and Los Angeles counties, but only 15 percent of its registered voters live in Cortez' Los Angeles base. By contrast, more than 40 percent live in just the San Bernardino County cities of Chino and Chino Hills, giving Yates an advantage anchored to his seven years on the Chino City Council and his long involvement with civic affairs in what is known as the district's west end. Yates also has an impressive electoral record as the top vote-getter in council elections throughout the 1990s, and his entry into the race cost Cortez at least one endorsement—Chino Mayor Eunice Ulloa, who had backed Cortez but switched to her hometown candidate once Yates threw his hat into the ring. Cortez hails from Pomona and thus operates under the same handicap that Soto herself overcame in 1998. Cortez, however, has been active in regional affairs, and that has dangled his name before San Bernardino voters as well. According to an independent poll, Cortez enjoys higher name recognition throughout the district than Soto did at a similar point in the campaign two years ago, but he still is not as well known as Yates. Yates' geographic advantage is more than offset by Cortez' resources, however. Essentially, Cortez has a blank check from the Republican caucus and has budgeted between $150,000 and $200,000 for the primary. Yates has a similar budget but had raised less than $20,000 by the first of the year. Money is critical, because the bulk of campaigning in the district is done through the mail and by walking precincts. Each side must spend liberally to raise name recognition and run a viable absentee effort. Cortez will need more than Yates to raise his profile in San Bernardino, and he should have it. It also remains to be seen whether Cortez' refusal to endorse DeMallie against Soto in 1998 will cost him widespread support. The cash-short DeMallie must rely on motivating his conservative base to the polls, then hope that Cortez and Yates split the rest of the vote. That scenario, by the way, may also be the Democrats' best prospect for retaining the seat. DeMallie proved to be too conservative for the district in 1998, and Democrats are dreaming of a repeat run against him in 2000. In fact, how the Democrats approach this district depends exclusively on the Republican nominee. If it is DeMallie, this district will definitely be in play all the way to November. If Yates prevails, the district may see an active fall campaign. If it is Cortez, Democrats will say *adios* to the 61st.

DISTRICT 62 (58% D - 27% R - 10% DS)

Democrats: Incumbent John Longville and Mark Garcia, both of San Bernardino. Republican: Mary Lou Martinez of Fontana. Libertarian: Henry Matus of Rialto.

Former Rialto Mayor John Longville waited a long time for the dominos to tumble in this Inland Empire district, and he isn't about to lose his momentum after being elected to his first legislative term in 1998. Since arriving in Sacramento, Longville has become an adept, if occasionally too eager, member of the Democratic caucus. If his opponent, Mark Garcia, has any chance at all, it hinges on the longshot opportunity provided by a runoff looming in the 32nd Senate District — a special election held on the same day as the March primary. Democrats will drum the bushes for Latino votes on behalf of Nell Soto's Senate candidacy, and that effort could spur Latino votes for Garcia as well. Like we said — a longshot.

DISTRICT 63 (40% D - 45% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Scott Stotz of Highland. Republicans: Incumbent Bill Leonard and Vincent Wallace, both of Rancho Cucamonga. Libertarian: Ethel Mohler of Crestline.

Hard to believe, but Bill Leonard still has another term in the Legislature. First elected to the Assembly in 1978, Leonard served in the state Senate from 1988 until being termed out in 1996, when he and termed-out GOP Assemblyman Jim Brulte switched places. His primary is somewhat crowded, given that two years ago, the only other candidate in the race was a Libertarian.

DISTRICT 64 (39% D - 46% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Jose Medina. Republican: Incumbent Rod Pacheco. Libertarian: Phil Turner. Natural Law: Annie Wallack. All of Riverside.

Rod Pacheco, a former Riverside prosecutor, had a brief tenure as Assembly minority leader following the 1998 election. That got him a boatload of national attention as Republicans scoured the horizon for anything resembling a silver lining with regard to Latinos. But personality clashes and a confrontational style led to his downfall as leadership. None of those internal Capitol rumblings will slow his reelection to a third and final term, however.

DISTRICT 65 (38% D - 46% R - 11% DS)

Democrats: Adolfo Mediano Jr. of Banning and Ray Quinto of Yucaipa. Republicans: Russ Bogh and Jan Leja, both of Beaumont, and David O'Brien of Big Bear City. Libertarian: Bonnie Flickinger of Moreno Valley. Natural Law: Joseph Renteria of Rancho Cucamonga.

Bogh

Leja

Incumbent Republican Bret Granlund is termed out, and the contest to replace him has lured three GOP contenders into the race, two of whom have the cash and backing to mount strong campaigns. The early frontrunner is Jan Leja, who resigned recently as mayor of Beaumont after seven years on the job. Her main opponent is Russ Bogh, former Governor Pete Wilson's regional director and a one-time staffer to former GOP Assemblyman Ted Weggeland. He currently serves as a regional manager for Southern California Edison. Bogh was the first to announce and earned an early endorsement from Granlund. But his support evaporated once Leja entered the race, especially after she received strong backing from other Inland

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Empire pooh-bahs — notably, state Senator Jim Brulte. Assembly Minority Leader Scott Baugh also weighed in on behalf of Leja, as did area Congressman Jerry Lewis and 34 other legislators. Bogh, on the other hand, has lined up support from Wilson, Weggeland, former Assembly GOP Leader Rod Pacheco from nearby Riverside and Assemblyman Jim Battin from the desert region south of this district. He also has considerable backing from area law-enforcement groups and a smattering of locally elected officials. With the overall election to be decided in the GOP primary, the Leja and Bogh camps are gearing up for a protracted and expensive contest. Bogh had banked $309,000 by mid-January toward an overall budget of $350,000, with a Wilson-highlighted fund raiser yet to come in February. The gaudy total is not indicative of his fund-raising prowess, however, since more than $200,000 of it came in the form of loans from his family. Although she has not been able to match Bogh's treasury, Leja had raised $225,000 as of mid-January and had the promise of additional funds from the likes of Brulte and Baugh should it become necessary — a promise that gives her parity on the financial front. Philosophically, not much separates the two leading candidates, both of whom consider themselves conservatives. In a year when the electorate seems content with the status quo, Leja enjoys the advantage provided by 10 years in local government and the fact that she has hands-on, decision-making experience with issues about which Bogh can only talk. Especially helpful is her service on the Riverside County Transportation Commission at a time when both candidates consider transportation issues paramount to a growing region. The wild card is David O'Brien, who is running in his fourth consecutive GOP primary, having lost to Granlund in 1994, '96 and '98. O'Brien won't win this primary either, but he could siphon votes away from the frontrunners. If his presence is a negative, it probably benefits Leja since O'Brien's challenges to Granlund were highly personal and may translate to Granlund's anointed successor.

Los Angeles County

By almost any measure you'd care to weigh — geography, economy, demographics and certainly politics — Los Angeles County is one of the most diverse places on earth. It is possible to touch both snow and surf within its confines during the winter months. Its economic breadth extends from tourism to high-tech to heavy industry, and despite the relentless creep of urbanization, there is still agriculture within its borders.

Los Angeles County's demographics will be California's in a decade or so, and could become America's within a few generations. A "majority minority" region, roughly 40% of the county's population is Latino. It has absorbed waves of immigration not only from Mexico, but much of Central and South America, Asia, Russia and Armenia. These waves of immigration have produced backlash and tension, especially during the economic troubles of the early 1990s. But they have also produced the primordial soup for a new culture that blends assimilation with an acknowledgment of heritage.

Politically, Los Angeles County is the center of gravity — roughly three out of every ten elected representatives in Sacramento has some part of it within their districts. The county is also the signpost for the Republican Party's problems in the state. The immigration-fed expansion and growth of the county's urban core has pushed more conservative suburbanites to peripheral communities like Monrovia, and even some of those suburbanites were alienated by the party in the middle 1990s. As the election begins, only four of the county's 25 Assembly seats are held by Republicans. Unless the GOP is able to successfully reinvent, or at least reintroduce, itself to these emerging groups, that number could further diminish as increasing Latino migration changes such far-reaching communities as West Covina to the east and Simi Valley to the west.

— *Steve Scott*

DISTRICT 66 (31% D - 52% R - 11% DS)

Democrats: Bob Canfield and Bill Estenger, both of Temecula. Republicans: Jeffrey Bennett of Corona, Dennis Hollingsworth of Murrieta, Kevin Pape of Lake Elsinore and Jeff Stone of Temecula. Green: Chuck Reutter of Sun City.

Another expensive primary is building in this western Riverside County/San Diego County district thanks to term limits and the departure of conservative Republican incumbent Bruce Thompson. Like many Inland Empire districts, the election will be resolved in the GOP primary where all four candidates bring constituencies to the table. The leading contender is Jeff Bennett, the former mayor of Corona, who is the founder of Nature's Recipe Pet Food Company and thus has vast personal fortune at his disposal and an expressed willingness to spend it. He seeded his campaign last summer with a $400,000 loan and has raised an additional $300,000 from other sources — resources none of the other contenders can match. Bennett also has the advantage of squatting alone in the political center and touting an endorsement list that includes state Senator Jim Brulte, former Assembly Minority Leader Rod Pacheco, the GOP Hispanic Caucus and numerous law-enforcement groups. In years past, his stature as a pro-choice moderate might have proven disastrous in what traditionally was regarded as a very conservative district. But the district profile changed during the 1990s

Bennett

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thanks to an influx of young families. Polls now show that a quarter of the district's registered voters have never voted in the district, and their profile is less conservative. In addition, Bennett's three opponents — Temecula Mayor Jeff Stone, Lake Elsinore Councilman Kevin Pape and businessman Dennis Hollingsworth — share the same conservative constituency and are likely to split its vote. Pape and Hollingsworth, especially, vie for hard-right support, although Pape hopes to lure endorsements from Thompson and area Senator Ray Haynes and thereby marginalize Hollingsworth, who has never run for office. Even so, he'll have to contend with Stone, who has tried to position himself somewhere between Bennett and the other two on the philosophical scale but whose pro-life, anti-assault-weapon ban, pro-voucher outlook varies little from theirs. Stone and Pape will try to ballyhoo their experience, but that, too, varies little from Bennett's. In addition, Stone's base in Temecula is half the size of Bennett's Corona constituency, while Lake Elsinore is even smaller. Stone has embarked on a successful fund-raising effort, banking $150,000 by mid-January. By normal circumstances, that would be a sizable treasury. But Bennett's wallet makes this contest extraordinary. He already is peppering the district with mail and even has lavished resources on cable television. Although the race is Bennett's to lose, he does suffer from a contested primary on the Democratic side that may prevent pro-choice Democrats from crossing over to vote for him.

DISTRICT 67 (32% D - 49% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Andy Hilbert of La Palma. Republicans: Tom Harman of Huntington Beach, Jim Righeimer of Fountain Valley, Dennis Brown of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Autumn Browne of Huntington Beach.

One of only two contested GOP primaries in Orange County, this district became a dumping ground early on for loads of Republican money as party pooh-bahs hoped to ensure that former Assemblyman Dennis Brown, chief of staff to Senate Minority Leader Ross Johnson, won the nomination. Thus the primary became a battleground for the county's rival GOP factions: conservatives vs. moderates. But Brown, citing family commitments, dropped out of the race in December even though he remains on the ballot. Left standing to replace termed-out Assembly Minority Leader Scott Baugh are two leaders of the battling factions — Huntington Beach City Councilman Tom Harman, a founder of the moderate Republicans for New Directions; and Fountain Valley realtor and Baugh buddy Jim Righeimer, co-author of 1998's Proposition 226, co-chairman of the Doris Allen Recall Committee in 1994, and, for the last six years, campaign manager for area Congressman Dana Rohrabacher. Not many candidates in the old millennium had much success running against the area's conservative establishment, and the new millennium doesn't look much friendlier. As a result, Righeimer has the edge.

DISTRICT 68 (39% D - 42% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Tina Louise Laine. Republican: Incumbent Ken Maddox. Reform: Al Snook. Libertarian: Richard G. Newhouse. All of Garden Grove.

There's no primary challenger for incumbent Ken Maddox, but in November, the fact that registration in Anaheim, Buena Park and Garden Grove is tilting Democratic could liven up the district. What's more, Maddox has said he might support an anti-illegal immigration initiative — son of Proposition 187 — aimed at the November ballot, which ought to energize Democrats and Latinos and make Maddox a target for their wrath.

DISTRICT 69 (52% D - 30% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lou Correa of Anaheim. Republican: Lou Lopez of Santa Ana. Natural Law: Brian Tuan Pham of Santa Ana.

The lone Assembly Democratic outpost in Orange County — at least for now — belongs to Lou Correa, who ousted conservative GOP Assemblyman Jim Morrissey two years ago. And even though Republican and former Anaheim City Councilman Lou Lopez can compete for the ever-growing Latino vote, moderate Republicans say GOP cash would be better spent supporting incumbent Ken Maddox in the 68th. Until Lopez entered the race, the GOP appeared willing, in its heart of hearts, to give up the fight for this Orange County Assembly seat — for the time being.

DISTRICT 70 (29% D - 52% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Merritt Lori McKeon of Laguna Beach. Republican: John Campbell of Irvine. Reform: Raymond O. Mills of Tustin. Natural Law: Barry L. Katz of Tustin. Libertarian: Bob Vondruska of Laguna Hills.

This GOP primary will be a Sunday drive for car dealer and CPA John Campbell, who has his party's backing to replace termed-out Assemblywoman Marilyn Brewer.

DISTRICT 71 (27% D-56% R - 13% DS)

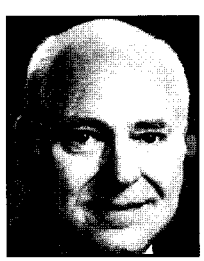
Democrat: Bea Foster of Santa Ana. Republicans: Incumbent Bill Campbell of Orange, Gary C. Beck of Orange. Natural Law: Brenda Jo Bryant of Santa Ana. Libertarian: Brian Lee Cross of Orange.

Though Gary C. Beck, a retired lobbyist and mediator, hopes to break Bill Campbell's stranglehold on what is the most Republican seat in the Legislature, voters at this point don't seem eager to dump incumbents.

DISTRICT 72 (31% D - 53% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Gangadharappa Nanjundappa of Placentia. Republicans: Bruce Matthias of Anaheim, Lynn Daucher of Brea, Don Bankhead of Fullerton. Natural Law: John William Zamarra of Fullerton.

Daucher


Bankhead

This district is home to the county's most competitive GOP primary. The

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three Republicans each has raised more than $100,000, though Fullerton City Councilman Don Bankhead and Brea City Councilwoman Lynn Daucher, the early favorite, reported sizable loans to their campaigns. Abortion could play a factor in this race. While Daucher, a former teacher and school board member, and Bruce Matthias, a Santa Anita racetrack executive and former legislative aide, are mainstream conservatives, they are split on abortion rights. With Daucher a pro-choice woman and Matthias and Bankhead pro-life men, Daucher has the critical advantage in attracting the women's vote and crossover Democrats, who do not have a contested primary on their side of the slate. She already has the backing of former state Senator and Board of Education member Marian Bergeson and Assemblywoman Marilyn Brewer, as well as a slew of local officials. Bankhead, a retired police captain, has local law-enforcement endorsements. But money could flow to Matthias from a growing list of state legislators, including his campaign manager — termed-out Senator John Lewis, whom he once served as an aide. Matthias also was a staffer for former U.S. Representative William Dannemeyer. Expect Bankhead to lament local government finance, Matthias to tout local control of education and Daucher to attack government waste. And the man they're all trying to replace — Assemblyman Dick Ackerman — isn't endorsing a soul.

DISTRICT 73 (29% D - 51% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Robert D. Wilberg of Capistrano Beach. Republican: Incumbent Patricia "Pat" Bates of Rancho Santa Margarita. Natural Law: Paul Fisher of San Clemente. Libertarian: Paul King of Oceanside.

This district is evenly split between Orange and San Diego counties but is solidly Republican. The only battle incumbent Patricia Bates would have faced in this tony, coastal district is in the primary because there's no challenge from Democrat Robert D. Wilberg.

Orange County

An agricultural center of orange groves no more, Orange County has grown into a hot spot for entertainment, shopping and a cadre of high-tech firms prospering in the new economy. But as the county has aged, it has also developed pockets of poverty, particularly in the central and northern regions where light commercial gives way to heavy industry and the housing stock is no longer brand-spanking new. Though many lament the "white flight" from the county's largest cities — Santa Ana and Anaheim — Orange County is, if nothing else, a diverse, ever-changing place that's home to large Asian and Latino populations, as well as smaller groups of African-Americans and Armenians. That changing demographic became vividly apparent in 1996 when the combative Anglo, ultra-conservative incumbent, Congressman Robert "B-1 Bob" Dornan (R-Garden Grove), was ousted by Loretta Sanchez, now in her second congressional term. In political terms, alarm bells sounded last year when the long-dominant GOP lost its majority in countywide voter registration (49.9%R-32%D-14%DS). With the remaining local GOP factions breaking into moderate and conservative camps fighting at the helm for control, it may only be a matter of time before the GOP's Orange County mothership is thrown off course.

— Sekhar Padmanabhan

DISTRICT 74 (30% D - 48% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: John Herrera of Vista. Republicans: Keith Beier of Escondido, James Bond of Encinitas, George Durgin Jr. of Escondido, Ed Estes Jr. of Vista, June Rady of Escondido, C. Mason Weaver of Vista and Mark Wyland of Escondido. Libertarian: Thomas Hohman of Rancho Santa Fe. Natural Law: Barbara Bourdette of Solana Beach.

The most entertaining of the San Diego primaries, the contest to replace termed-out Republican Howard Kaloogian includes five elected officials, a conservative talk-show host, a school board member dissed for donating to Democrats, and more professional consultants than a meeting of the Qualcomm board of directors. And that's just the Republicans. The four candidates with the best chance of moving on to round two in November are former talk-show host Mason Weaver, Vista City Councilman Ed Estes Jr., Escondido school trustee Mark Wyland and Encinitas Mayor James Bond — with Weaver and Estes the putative frontrunners. Two other Escondido councilpersons, June Rady and Keith Beier, also are in the race but considered second-tier because of limited resources and the fact that half the slate shares the same Escondido constituency. Weaver, who is African American, hosted a Limbaugh-esque radio show for the past decade and also does television commentaries and writes a newspaper column. That public personna gives him the kind of name recognition throughout the district that his competitors must purchase. He is backed by Kaloogian and former Mayor Roger Hedgecock, himself a conservative talk-show host. A former Democrat who once worked for a pair of Northern California congressmen, Weaver's radio style has been described as "incendiary" on issues such as abortion, where he is pro-life, but he is said to have a large following. He also has raised more than $100,000. Estes, by contrast, is a pro-choice moderate who is a lawyer by training but also has a business background and once served a stint as president of the Vista Chamber of Commerce. He has been endorsed by Assemblywoman Charlene Zettel and a platoon of local elected officials, as well as by law-enforcement groups and the California Republican League. He is a member of the county central committee. School trustee Mark Wyland, owner of a lumber company,

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seeded his own campaign treasury, but it was a donation to another politician that cost the conservative businessman the support of one prominent area legislator and gained the candidate a plethora of negative publicity. Wyland gave a $1,000 donation to Democrat Bill Bradley's presidential effort, and that prompted Assemblyman Steve Baldwin to yank his endorsement. Baldwin also has endorsed Weaver. In terms of pure name identification, however, no candidate can match James Bond, who also has the distinction of being the only Republican candidate to hail from the district's coastal region; the rest are inlanders. Rady, like Estes a pro-choice moderate, is the only woman on the slate, which could give her some pull with women voters. With Weaver and Estes as frontrunners, the race has ideological overtones. Weaver is hampered by the fact that he shares the conservative constituency with Beier and Wyland. Estes, on the other hand, not only appeals to district moderates, but the absence of any kind of contested Democratic primary provides fertile ground for harvesting crossover Democrats. As a result, part of his campaign strategy involves targeting mail into Democratic households, and he's likely the only candidate with both a message that could appeal to conservative Democrats and the resources to deliver it. Otherwise, the race is wide open.

DISTRICT 75 (29% D - 50% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Judith Walters of Spring Valley. Republican: Incumbent Charlene Zettel of Poway and Bob Ward of Santee. Libertarian: Gary Pietila of Ramona.

Charlene Zettel made history in 1998 when she became the first Latina Republican elected to the California Legislature. Along the way, she disposed of a trio of conservative GOP men in a lavishly expensive primary, then cake-walked through the general election. Businessman Bob Ward is making another run at Zettel from the right, but the cost of this primary likely won't approach the $1 million-plus spent in 1998. And without a million bucks, or more, Ward won't have the resources to derail Zettel.

DISTRICT 76 (40% D - 37% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Christine Kehoe. Republicans: John Cubello, Chris Gallup, Elmer Kropp and Michelle Nash-Hoff. Libertarian: David Oakey. All of San Diego.

Kehoe

Nash-Hoff

Incumbent Susan Davis routinely thwarted Republican efforts to wrest this San Diego district away from Democrats, but the termed-out Davis is running for Congress this year against Brian Bilbray. Democrats, however, have recruited San Diego Councilwoman Christine Kehoe to replace Davis. Openly gay, Kehoe made a strong run at Bilbray two years ago, coming within 2 points of unseating the incumbent. She has a formidable campaign treasury, knockout name identification throughout the district and no primary opponent. Republicans, on the other hand, have routinely managed to hogtie their efforts with a string of white male nominees who were either too conservative or a political version of wallpaper. This year, their slate again is less than imposing, perhaps because Kehoe represents such a daunting opponent. In fact, the most telling evidence is the candidate who decided not to run. Former Assemblyman and state Senator Larry Stirling thought about making this race but instead chose to run for the state Senate against incumbent Democrat Dede Alpert. Of those who opted in, the likely nominee is Michelle Nash-Hoff, a business consultant long been involved with GOP politics. She has endorsements from the local Lincoln Club and boosters such as the association of local realtors. Assembly Minority Leader Scott Baugh also is on board. Nash-Hoff's only electoral experience, however, was a failed campaign for the San Diego City Council a few years ago. Of her opponents, businessman Chris Gallup is a member of the county central committee with at least a show of district activism. Also on the ticket are Elmer Kropp, a physician making his first foray into elective politics, and John Cubello, a teacher.

DISTRICT 77 (38% D - 41% R - 14% DS)

Democrats: Manny Doria of National City and Todd Keegan of El Cajon. Republicans: Laoma Davidson of El Cajon, Penny Halgren of La Mesa, Jay La Suer of La Mesa and Matt Mendoza of Lemon Grove. Libertarian: Michael Metti of El Cajon.

La Suer

Halgren

This district produced some notable representatives during the 1990s. Democrat Tom Connolly first won it in 1992 by defeating Republican Steve Baldwin, but his re-election effort foundered in 1994 when he spent the bulk of the campaign explaining his past drug addiction and fending off allegations that he sexually harassed female employees. He was defeated by Baldwin, who has held the seat ever since but has never quite lived down a remark made during the '92 campaign that the U.S. Air Force employed an official witch. Baldwin now is termed out, and the contest to replace him has created a heated GOP primary. The two leading contenders are Jay La Suer and Penny Halgren, and their contest is a metaphor for philosophical differences inside the GOP. Also involved are Laoma Davidson, a 70ish teacher who has vowed not to spend more than $1,000 on her campaign; and Matt Mendoza, who works for an aerospace company and is making his first run for public office. Neither is likely to climb over the two frontrunners. La Suer, the vice mayor of La Mesa, is the

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natural heir to Baldwin's conservative constituency. A 10-year veteran of local government, he is pro-life, hard core against any tax increases and supports the notion of school vouchers. He spent 31 years in law enforcement and has strong backing from law-enforcement groups throughout the district. Halgren, on the other hand, is a pro-choice moderate who supports limited forms of gun control and, as a trustee of the La Mesa-Spring Valley School District, backed a local school bond that La Suer opposed. La Suer has Baldwin's support, as well as backing from others in the Assembly GOP caucus. On the money front, Halgren had raised nearly $100,000 by the end of 1999, although she also reported a sizeable debt. La Suer had banked $119,000, with no debt. Most polling shows that no candidate has substantial, district-wide name identification, but it also shows that the district's political profile remains steadfastly conservative. That profile and La Suer's available cash afford him several advantages, if he can get his message out to a wide audience. Halgren has some electoral support from her school district campaigns, where she captured some 15,000 of the district's registered voters, but La Suer, too, has a solid electoral base and has been a top vote-getter in every municipal election of the '90s. He also can count on a loyal conservative base, while Halgren must shift for independents and Democratic crossovers. Some local observers feel that Halgren must spend nearly twice as much as La Suer to remain competitive, and must run a more focused campaign. Her effort is guided by Sacramento consultants Ray McNally and Richard Temple, who have shown a penchant for making moderate Republicans competitive in conservative districts, but their efforts are hampered by a contested Democratic primary that includes Todd Keegan, the deputy mayor of El Cajon. Assembly Democrats want Keegan on the November ballot and likely are going to spend enough to prevent the Democratic base from wandering around in the primary. As a result, this is La Suer's to lose.

San Diego County

For most of the 20th century, San Diego County was the embodiment of the California dream: balmy skies, long stretches of golden beaches, an unhurried lifestyle, the West's most famous zoo, a diverse landscape that includes oceanfront, desert and snow-capped mountains. Mixed in with this laid-back approach to life is the state's largest concentration of military bases, centered around huge Navy and Marine Corps installations. But San Diego also has borne witness to carnivorous growth that threatened to devour the dream and, etched against the Mexican border, a caldron of tension over immigration and relations with its southern neighbor.

As a result, the region developed a strain of politically independent voters who blended fiscal conservatism and hard-core sentiments on immigration with sensitivity toward the environment. Managed growth, illegal immigration and water use became seminal issues. Nominally Republican in outlook and registration, San Diego traditionally has harbored more than the normal share of political independents who refused to declare for one party or another. Even those who did register Democratic or Republican were less than loyal voters in the privacy of an election booth.

Parts of San Diego have especially befuddled Republicans. Although the region contains all or part of 18 congressional and legislative districts, and although the GOP controls a dozen of them, they have seen their efforts frustrated in a trio of legislative districts — the 39th Senate and 76th and 78th Assembly — where more often than not they have nominated candidates too conservative for their constituencies.

San Diego also has been something of a political and civic matriarchy. Over the past quarter century, one of its leading philanthropists was Joan Kroc, widow of McDonald's chairman Ray Kroc, who traditionally took an active role in civic affairs. The publisher of the city's leading newspaper, the *San Diego Union-Tribune,* is Helen Copley, head of a publishing empire that bears her name. The paper's editor also is a woman, Karin Winner, as is the current mayor, Susan Golding, although she likely will be succeeded this year by a man. In addition, half of San Diego's Assembly delegation is female, and the region has historically sent at least one woman to the state Senate.

— *A.G. Block*

DISTRICT 78 (37% D - 39% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Howard Wayne of San Diego. Republicans: Myke Shelby of San Diego and John Steel of La Jolla. Libertarian: Dennis Triglia of San Diego. Natural Law: Ray Wingfield of San Diego.

Wayne

Shelby

Two years ago, Republicans thought they had nominated the perfect candidate to knock off then-rookie Democrat Howard Wayne: Jean Roesch, a moderate pro-choice woman with a strong background in education running in a district that has shown a penchant for electing moderate women. Although Roesch had impeccable credentials on paper, she proved to be less than a sterling campaigner, and Wayne torched her at the polls, getting re-elected by more than 20,000 votes. Wayne now is seeking his third and final term in the Assembly, and neither of his potential GOP contenders looks as good on paper as did Roesch. Myke Shelby ran against Roesch in 1998, finishing a distant second in the primary. Nick-

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named "New York Myke," he is the owner of San Diego Harley Davidson and brings an affable East Coast pugnaciousness to the campaign. John Steel is a retired surgeon from tony La Jolla who captured 37 percent of the vote in a four-way 1994 congressional primary won by Brian Bilbray. He funded much of that effort out of his own pocket but has not run since. Local observers believe he would have the best chance to beat Wayne, but he likely won't get past Shelby in the primary. Shelby is state political director for the group that wants to do away with mandatory helmet laws for bikers and, as such, commands a strong and enthusiastic cadre of grass-roots activists willing to walk precincts, stuff envelopes and man phone banks. He also has considerable personal resources and showed a willingness in 1998 to spend pieces of it on his candidacy.

DISTRICT 79 (53% D - 25% R - 14% DS)

Democrats: Dwayne Crenshaw and Juan Vargas, both of San Diego. Republicans: Petra Barajas of Chula Vista and Jon Parungao and Larry Secrest, both of San Diego. Libertarian: Richard Cardulla of San Diego.

Democratic Assemblywoman Denise Ducheny is termed out, leaving yet another open seat simmering in the San Diego sun. The contest to replace her is all in the Democratic primary, although a trio of Republicans are vying for the GOP nomination. The bigfoot candidate is Juan Vargas, a San Diego city councilman who came within 3,000 votes of unseating incumbent Congressman Bob Filner in the 1996 Democratic primary. Vargas at times sounds like a moderate Republican, and Filner was successful at highlighting Vargas' less-than-traditional stands on issues such as abortion and the environment. Vargas, however, clearly enjoys wide name recognition and a healthy campaign treasury. Still, the seeds of trouble lurk on the fringe of this primary. His opponent, Dwayne Crenshaw, is a former staffer to state Senator Jack O'Connell, a Santa Barbara Democrat who raised precinct-walking to an art form. Crenshaw is emulating his former boss with a walking campaign that already had taken him to 10,000 households by mid-January — a significant plus in a district with traditionally low voter turnout. In addition, Vargas has garnered more than his share of negative publicity due to his role in a stadium lease on behalf of pro football's San Diego Chargers, that could cost city taxpayers as much as $8 million. He also has been embroiled in an effort to expand a small south county airport into a major cargo hub, which is unpopular with a swath of district voters. And then, there is the "race card." Vargas early on earned an endorsement from Assembly Democrats, but African American members objected because Crenshaw is black. They have pushed for a dual endorsement, which the caucus is considering. In addition, the March 7 ballot includes a mayoral election in San Diego, and one of the candidates is City Councilman George Stevens, who also is African American. If get-out-the-vote efforts for Stevens succeed in pumping up the black vote, Crenshaw could benefit. Finally, the conservative Vargas won't be able to count on a large crossover vote from moderate Republicans because of the contested GOP primary, especially among the district's growing Filipino community, which has its own candidate on the ballot in Jon Parungao, a leader in the Asian-GOP caucus. The race clearly is Vargas' to lose, and he remains a formidable front-runner. But if Crenshaw seems within striking distance as the campaign season closes toward March, and with so few seats available to African American candidates, a well-funded ambush would not be out of the question.

DISTRICT 80 (44% D - 40% R - 12% DS)

Democrats: Joey Acuna Jr. of Coachella and Patricia Johansen of Palm Desert. Republicans: Dave Kelley and Jim Lewis, both of Palm Desert. Libertarian: Susan Weber of Palm Desert.

Seat Swap, the sequel. The original version ran in theaters north of this venue in 1996 when a pair of termed-out Republicans — then-Assemblyman Jim Brulte and then-state Senator Bill Leonard — ran for the other's seat. This time, Republicans Dave Kelley and Jim Battin are reprising the roles pioneered by Brulte and Leonard. Kelley will win here without working up a sweat; Battin has a tougher primary, but the result ought to be the same.

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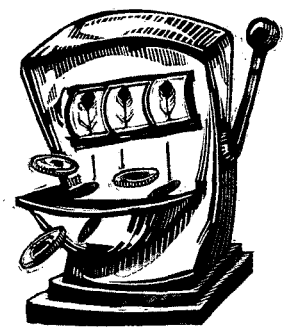
Propositions

Proposition numbering: In 1983, the Legislature passed a law requiring that ballot measures be numbered consecutively from election to election, retroactive to the November 1982 election. The law was designed to keep voters from confusing ballot measures that may have shared the same proposition number in different election cycles. The law as amended in 1996 provides for a 10-year turnover, so the ballot odometer rolled back to "Proposition 1" in November 1998. But legislators can circumvent the numbering sequence by passing legislation that leapfrogs their pet proposals to the top of the ballot: That's just what happened this year with the Indian gaming initiative, which by legislative decree became "Proposition 1A."

Proposition 1A

A constitutional amendment to allow Indian tribes to offer Nevada-style gambling, including slot machines, blackjack and other "house-banked" card games.



Background: For nearly a decade, California's tribal casinos have operated under a legal cloud. Federal laws allow tribes to offer only those casino games that are legal in their state; in California, that means the lottery, horse racing and some card games. As a result, federal attorneys and former Governor Pete Wilson moved to shut down the tribes' video slot machines, contending they violated the state's constitutional ban on Nevada-style gambling. Wilson also negotiated new tribal-state compacts in 1998 that, among other requirements, placed strict limits on the number and style of slot machines allowed in tribal casinos. Outraged, the state's wealthy casino tribes poured $67 million into a 1998 campaign that resulted in overwhelming passage of Proposition 5, which allowed tribes to expand their video slot machine gambling. But less than a year later, the state Supreme Court tossed out Proposition 5, ruling the initiative violated the state constitution's ban on casino-style gambling. Subsequently, nearly 60 tribes and Governor Gray Davis negotiated new tribal-state compacts last year that allowed the tribes to expand their current gambling. The compacts also require gaming tribes to set aside $1.1 million of their revenues annually for every tribe that doesn't operate a casino, as well as provide unspecified funds for state regulation, impacts on local governments and gambling addiction programs. Those compacts, however, are contingent upon passage of Proposition 1A to amend the state constitution. Unlike the record-breaking spending that characterized Proposition 5, when wealthy tribes squared off against equally well-heeled Nevada casinos in a campaign where spending by both sides nearly topped $100 million, the Proposition 1A campaign amounts to spare change. Tribes have committed to spending whatever it takes to win but, in the first round of fund raising, reported a modest $7.3 million in contributions. They reported spending about $5.8 million, much of it on television advertising already on the air. By contrast, Proposition 1A's opponents, a small, under-funded group of church members, citizen groups, and alcohol and gambling addiction treatment professionals, raised and spent a total of $2,237. That's *total.* Needless to say, the No on Proposition 1A side does not expect to run any radio or TV advertising in the campaign.

Proposal: The exact number of slot machines that would be allowed in California should Proposition 1A pass remains in dispute. Tribes and the governor say it's a modest expansion, leading to a potential total of about 43,000 slot machines. The state's Legislative Analyst, meanwhile, has estimated there could be more than 100,000 slot machines running in California tribal casinos. Tribes also will be allowed to offer blackjack and other "house-banked" card games that currently are considered illegal.

Arguments for: Proposition 1A means economic survival for California Indians, supporters contend. That's the fundamental message given by tribes in their second campaign to win voter approval of tribal gaming. They say Proposition 1A will finally clarify the legal rights of tribes to run casinos on tribal land. Tribal spokespersons, such as Mark Macarro of the Pechanga Band of Luiseno Indians, who appears frequently in tribal TV campaign ads, maintain that Indian gaming on tribal land is the only viable option to keep tribal members off welfare. Tribes say that Indian gaming provides 50,000 jobs for Indians and other California residents while generating $120 million annually in state and local taxes. Aside from jobs, they note, casino revenues have enabled tribes to provide their members with better health care, education and housing.

Arguments against: Proposition 1A will "trigger a massive explosion" of legalized gambling in California, contends Assemblyman Bruce Thompson (R-Fallbrook), a longtime gambling foe who wrote one of the ballot arguments against the initiative. By increasing the number of slot machines and by permitting previously illegal blackjack card games, Thompson and other opponents believe that Proposition 1A will usher in an unwelcome era of gambling-related problems, such as addiction, underage gambling and other negative impacts on local communities. And they predict it will heighten efforts by cardrooms and horse racing tracks to be allowed the same gambling

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rights as Indian casinos. Another opponent, Leo McCarthy, former lieutenant governor and Assembly speaker, warns that expanded gambling under Proposition 1A will dramatically increase the number of gambling addicts in California. Calling video slot machines the "crack cocaine" of gambling, McCarthy said their proliferation can quickly turn many problem gamblers into pathological gamblers. A dramatic increase in problem gamblers will cost California millions, he said, in social and economic costs of gambling, such as bankruptcies, unemployment benefits, divorce and child abuse.

— *Claudia Buck*

Proposition 12

Parks bond used to buy and maintain recreational, cultural and natural areas.

Background: In the past quarter-century, voters have approved about $1.9 billion in general obligation bonds to pay for improved natural areas and the purchase and improvement of parks and beaches — passing a bond about every four years from 1960 to 1988. This, however, is the first statewide parks bond in the last 10 years. Proposition 12 needs only a simple majority to pass.

Proposal: This bond would provide funds to protect land around lakes, rivers and streams, and the coast, build neighborhood parks and reduce pollution. Every city and county would get a part of this money. The amount of money each receives is based on population (per capita). Some cities plan to use the money to develop school parks or build trails, volleyball courts and other recreational facilities in existing parks.

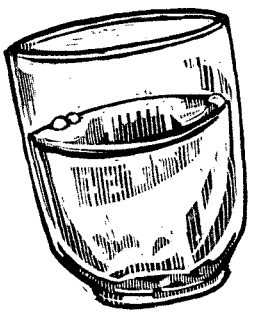
Arguments for: Proposition 12 has a list of supporters that includes the California Taxpayers Association, the California Chamber of Commerce, the California Association of Realtors, as well as the Sierra Club and the League of Conservation Voters. Supporters say the measure is needed because parks around the state have deteriorated, becoming unsafe and unusable. They say Proposition 12 will provide substantial grants to communities to renovate existing parks, as well as acquire open spaces in urban areas.

Arguments against: Opponents, including state Senator Ray Haynes (R-Riverside), Assemblyman Brett Granlund (R-Yucaipa) and Lewis Uhler of the National Tax-Limitation Committee, say the bond money provided by this proposition, if passed, will go mostly to special interest groups and cities such as San Francisco, which is looking to receive $45 million, and the Los Angeles area, which is slated to receive $190 million. They say the government doesn't need to acquire more land since California has trouble paying for the upkeep of the parkland it already has.

— *Melissa Mikesell*

Proposition 13

The Safe Drinking Water, Clean Water, Watershed Protection Act will provide a $1.97 billion general obligation bond to extend existing water supplies in California and to protect and restore waterways.



Background: The last statewide water bond, for $995 million, was approved by voters in 1996.

Proposal: This water bond would provide water to 8 million Californians by increasing underground storage, and promoting better conservation, recycling and water management. Bond money also would be used to control pollution of lakes, rivers and the California coast. The price tag for this initiative is $1.97 billion. Distribution of the money is population-based.

Arguments for: Supporters of the water bond include Governor Gray Davis, the California Chamber of Commerce and the Nature Conservancy as well as the bill's author, Assemblyman Mike Machado (D-Stockton). Supporters say that Proposition 13 doesn't just add more facilities — from dams to reservoirs and canals — it also looks for solutions to meet the state's growing water needs. Building dams, supporters say, has a devastating impact on the environment. That is why supporters want to look for ways to recycle, conserve and preserve the state's water supply and the Delta's delicate ecosystem. The majority, $630 million, of the bond money will be spent on managing water supply. Another $468 million will be used for watershed protection (all spending is subject to appropriation by the Legislature). In addition to the $1.97 billion included in the bond, California will also be eligible to receive $600 million in federal matching funds.

Arguments against: Opponents include the Libertarian Party of California and Dennis Schumpf, director of the Tahoe City Public Utility District. They prefer that allocations of money for water infrastructure upgrades come from current budgets, rather than through expensive bonds. Opponents also argue that too much of the money goes to pay for water treatment plants and watershed programs in specified areas — including the Central Valley and Los Angeles. They point out that 60 percent of the bond money will benefit Southern California. These improvements, they say, should be paid for locally.

— *Melissa Mikesell*

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Proposition 14

California Reading and Literacy Improvement and Public Library Construction and Renovation Act of 2000.

Background: Cities and counties pay most of the cost of building, operating and maintaining libraries. This bond provides for the state to pick up part of the bill. Similar to 1988's Proposition 85, also sponsored by legislators, Proposition 14 will assist cities in the construction or renovation of existing libraries.

Proposal. This $350 million bond will help communities pay to upgrade or build libraries. The state will pay 65 percent, assuming the city or county can demonstrate its ability to pick up 35 percent of construction and all maintenance and operating costs. The minimum grant is $50,000 and the maximum is $20 million. Priority is given to cities and counties that offer joint projects between schools and local libraries

Arguments for: Many communities have outgrown their libraries, but without state money, they are unable to meet the needs of library patrons, say Senators Richard Rainey (R-Walnut Creek) and Dede Alpert (D-San Diego), who both support the proposition. They say local participation is important, and the grant money won't be beyond the reach of local communities since grants are available in small as well as large amounts. They hope to encourage schools and libraries to work together, providing after-school homework centers for students.

Arguments against: Since this bond would require cities or counties to pay 35 percent of construction costs, only the wealthiest communities will be able to afford the bond. Opponents, such as state Senator Ray Haynes (R-Riverside), say only those communities with surplus cash will be able to afford renovation or construction — but the entire state will have to pay the bill.

— Melissa Mikesell

Proposition 15

A statewide bond that would sponsor the construction of local crime laboratories.

Background: California cities and counties operate 19 local crime laboratories for collecting, analyzing and interpreting crime scene evidence. Cities and counties pay for their own crime laboratories through fees and fines collected from persons convicted of certain offenses — including drug and alcohol violations.

Proposal: This measure would allow the state to sell $220 million in general obligation bonds for construction, renovation, and infrastructure costs associated with these laboratories. Like all general obligation bonds, there will be no increase in taxes and the bonds will be paid back from the state's general fund. Local governments can apply for grants from the state to build local forensic labs. The local government will have to provide 10 percent of total project costs and agree to pay the ongoing operation costs.

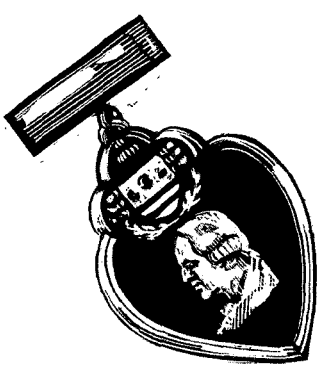
Arguments for: Since the money will be used to update crime labs, supporters, such as Assemblymen Bob Hertzberg (D-Van Nuys) and Tom Torlakson (D-Martinez), U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, the State Sheriffs' Association and the California Professional Firefighters, say this bond could help law enforcement agencies solve crimes. New and updated labs, they say, will help speed up the analysis of evidence because of improved equipment and facilities — including high-tech equipment used for examining DNA, toxicology, blood typing, body fluids from sexual assaults, drugs, ballistics, arson evidence and explosives. Supporters also say that California's current facilities are out-of-date and unable to process the volume of evidence brought in by law enforcement.

Arguments against: The opposition to this measure comes from the Libertarian Party, which contends the state should use private labs rather than build new facilities at taxpayer expense. Opponents say there are plenty of private companies that provide the type of services, including DNA testing, fingerprinting, handwriting analysis and audio and video analysis, that the forensic crime labs proposed by this bond would perform.

— Melissa Mikesell

Proposition 16

This $50 million bond issue will provide funding to the Department of Veterans Affairs for the purpose of designing and constructing veterans' care homes in California.



Background: The state Department of Veterans Affairs operates two residential homes for veterans, one in Yountville in Napa County, the other in Barstow in San Bernardino County. These two homes have enough beds for approximately 1,800 elderly or disabled California veterans. No veterans' ballot initiative has ever failed in the state.

Proposal: Authorizes the state to sell $50 million in

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general obligation bonds to pay the state's share (35 percent) of construction costs for new homes at Lancaster and Satiscoy, and for the renovation of the state's 100-year-old veterans home at Yountville.

Arguments for: Supporters, including state Senator Joe Dunn (D-Garden Grove), the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and American Association of Retired Persons, say this bond is necessary to meet the needs of California's military men and women.

Arguments against: The Libertarian Party of California opposes this bond, arguing that the money to complete these new facilities should come from the state's budget — rather than being paid for by costly bond measures.

— *Melissa Mikesell*

Proposition 17

This proposition would modify the state Constitution to permit nonprofit organizations to conduct raffles.

Background: The state Constitution requires that any change to the lottery system be approved by the voters. Currently in California, the only legal raffle is the California State Lottery. All other raffles are illegal.

Proposal: This proposition would amend the Constitution to allow private nonprofit groups to charge money to win a prize in a lottery system, so long as 90 percent of the profits go to the nonprofit organization. Some regulatory fees would be associated with raffles.

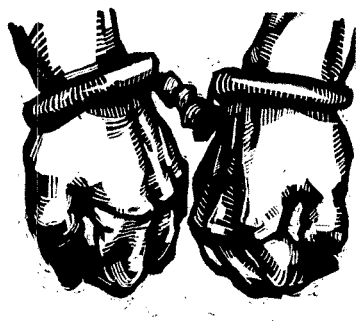
Arguments for: Supporters, including the proposition's author, state Senator Bruce McPherson (R-Santa Cruz), and Florence Green of the California Association of Non-Profits, say the current law puts nonprofit organizations and law enforcement in an awkward position. Since raffles are illegal, law enforcement can shut down any lottery-style raffle. But few are willing to stop charities from raising money for scholarships, medicine and health care, parks and wildlife preserves, libraries, food banks, religious groups — even law enforcement agencies. They say no commercial raffles would be allowed.

Arguments against: State Senator Dick Mountjoy (R-Arcadia) and the Committee on Moral Concerns are among the opponents of this proposition. They fear this legislation will allow phony charities to make money on raffles. They say that if charitable raffles are permitted, they should be limited — especially as to time and frequency.

— *Melissa Mikesell*

Proposition 18

Changes the language of Penal Code section 190, which defines the special circumstances under which first-degree murder is punishable by either death or life imprisonment without parole.



Background: Typically first-degree murder is defined as murder that is intentional or deliberate or that takes place during certain other crimes. The sentencing is typically 25 years to life imprisonment with the possibility of parole. However, under certain circumstances the sentencing for first degree murder may be life imprisonment *without* parole. One circumstance involves murder committed while "lying in wait." Court interpretation, from the Rose Bird Supreme Court, of "lying in wait" has led to prosecution only when the murder was committed immediately upon the confrontation between the murderer and the victim — ruling out such interpretations as waiting for the victim, capturing the victim, or transporting the victim before committing the murder.

Proposal: This measure would change the language from "while lying in wait," to "by means of lying in wait." This overcomes the court's interpretation of "while lying in wait" as excluding cases of kidnapping, and limited only to cases where the criminal's goal was primarily to kill.

Arguments for: Supporters, including former Governor George Deukmejian and Ventura County District Attorney Michael Bradbury, say this proposition corrects an odd decision by the California Supreme Court under former Chief Justice Rose Bird. They argue that current case law allows a murderer who kidnaps with the intent to kill to get a lesser sentence than a kidnapper who kidnaps but doesn't intend to kill.

Arguments against: Opponents, including state Senator John Vasconcellos (D-San Jose), say this proposition would only increase the number of crimes punishable by death. They argue that the death penalty hasn't been shown to deter crime, and therefore shouldn't be extended to any further circumstances.

— *Melissa Mikesell*

Proposition 19

Extends the sentence of life in prison without the possibility of parole, for second-degree murder, to anyone who murders a peace officer employed by the Bay Area Rapid Transit, the University of California and the California State University system.

Background: In 1998, voters approved Proposition 222, which enhanced criminal sentences for persons con-

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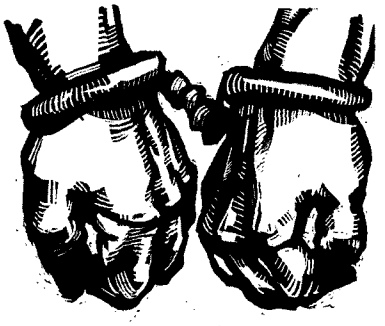


victed of murdering police officers under specific circumstances. Later in 1998, the Legislature passed a bill requiring any amendments to this statute be subject to voter approval, which is why this amendment is on the ballot. Existing law allows that punishment for murder in the second degree of specified peace officers is life without the possibility of parole if the crime occurs while the officer is on duty, and if it is aggravated.

Proposal: This proposition would extend the stiffer sentence of life in prison without the possibility of parole to anyone who murders under the same circumstances a BART, UC or CSU peace officer.

Arguments for: This measure merely asks voters to extend the same protection that police officers have to BART, UC and CSU peace officers. Since these peace officers investigate many of the same crimes as do police officers, supporters, including state Senator Richard Rainey (R-Walnut Creek), and President of the BART Board of Directors, Thomas M. Blalock, think this enhanced sentence should be extended.

Arguments against: The main opponent to this proposition is the Libertarian Party of California, which argues the measure represents an unwarranted expansion of the state's authority.

— Melissa Mikesell

Proposition 20

Allocates part of state lottery revenues to be used for purchasing instructional material in California classrooms.

Background: Since 1985, the state has operated the California State Lottery. Fifty percent of revenues are returned to players as prizes at least 34 percent is allocated to public education and a maximum of 16 percent can be used to administer the lottery. The amount school districts receive is based on student enrollment. The state currently provides schools almost $600 million each year that must be spent on education materials — including textbooks, computer software and arts and crafts. This equates to about $100 per student per year.

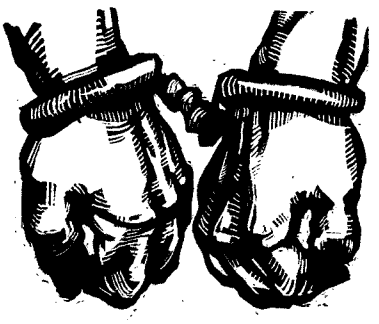
Proposal: Propostion 20 does not affect the total dollar amount of the lottery funds allocated toward education. Rather, it redistributes the education money, increasing the annual amount of funds dedicated to instructional materials.

Arguments for: Supporters, including Assemblymembers Tony Cardenas (D-Sylmar) and Nell Soto (D-Ontario), say this proposition is necessary to provide schools with a continuous flow of funding for textbooks and instructional materials.

Arguments against: Opponents, including Wayne Johnson of the California Teachers Association, Sandy Clifton of the Association of California School Administrators and Leslie DeMersseman of the California School Boards Association, say Proposition 20 will take away local control over spending decisions. While opponents agree schools need more textbooks, they say the flow of money from the lottery is too unstable and won't allow districts to plan ahead.

— Melissa Mikesell

Proposition 21



An initiative statute increasing penalties for juvenile and gang-related crimes.

Background: California's overall crime rate has decreased the past seven years. Juvenile crime also has dropped overall, though arrests for violent juvenile offenses went up 60 percent between 1983 and 1998, in part because of increases in gang-related crime. Two years ago, Republican Governor Pete Wilson, along with several law enforcement organizations, tried passing legislation to stiffen criminal penalties for violent juvenile offenders. Democratic lawmakers rejected the plan, saying it went too far and more should be done to prevent juveniles from committing crimes rather than just locking them up. Thwarted by the Legislature, Wilson and the bill's sponsors put their plan, dubbed "The Gang Violence and Juvenile Crime Prevention Act," on the ballot as Proposition 21. Last year, Democratic lawmakers tried circumventing Proposition 21 by passing legislation that included $11 million for programs to avert school violence and juvenile crime and toughened some penalty provisions for youthful offenders. Governor Gray Davis signed the legislation but vetoed the appropriations, citing the $100 million he had already included in the state budget for school violence prevention. A court challenge last December by opponents of Proposition 21 resulted in some modifications to the ballot arguments by proponents, such as language saying a juvenile convicted of a brutal murder is likely to be released within three years under the current system. That language was altered by Superior Court Judge James T. Ford, along with some of the opposition's ballot

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arguments. Ford toned down the claim by opponents that Proposition 21 would "put kids in prisons with adult inmates," saying in those instances when juveniles are sentenced to adult prisons, they are always housed in separate facilities.

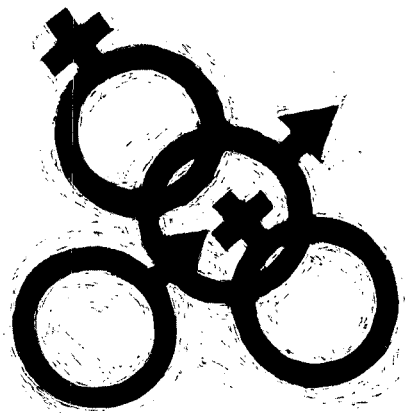
Proposal: Proposition 21 requires juvenile offenders 14 years and older accused of certain murder and sex offenses to be tried in adult court, instead of juvenile court, and that certain convicted juveniles serve in adult prisons instead of youth authority institutions. It limits the discretion of probation departments when determining whether a juvenile accused of certain crimes should be held or released before appearing before a judge. It bans the sealing or destroying of criminal records for juveniles 14 years and older who are convicted of serious or violent offenses. It adds two to 10 years onto sentences of gang members, depending on their offense. It expands the "special circumstances" under which a youth convicted of gang-related murder can be eligible for the death penalty, expands the use of wire taps against suspected gang members and requires anyone convicted of a gang-related offense to register with local law enforcement. The Legislative Analyst's Office estimates a one-time cost to the state of approximately $750 million if Proposition 21 is adopted, and ongoing annual costs of $330 million. It estimates the one-time cost to local governments at $200 million to $300 million and ongoing yearly costs ranging from tens of millions to more than $100 million.

Arguments for: Supporters of Proposition 21 include former Governor Pete Wilson, the California District Attorneys Association, California State Sheriffs' Association, California State Police Chiefs Association, seven crime victims' organizations, Secretary of State Bill Jones and Insurance Commissioner Charles Quackenbush. Supporters say tougher sanctions are required to combat the problem of violent juvenile crime, which has been increasing while adult crime has declined. They also say that preventive measures, such as education, are important, but won't be enough to combat the juvenile crime wave some predict will occur due to a 33 percent increase in the state's juvenile population over the next 15 years.

Arguments against: Opponents of Proposition 21 include the American Civil Liberties Union, the California Teachers Association, Catholic Conference of Bishops, League of Women Voters of California, Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice, Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa, Marc Klass, whose daughter's murder helped push the adoption of California's "Three Strikes" law, and the archbishop of Los Angeles, Cardinal Roger Mahony. They argue that the funds to implement Proposition 21 would be better spent on preventive measures targeting at-risk youths and gang members. They say California already has tough laws to combat gangs and youth crime, such as trying and incarcerating 14-year-olds as adults in some circumstances. They contend the measure will do nothing to keep kids out of gangs or prevent school shootings.

—Noel Brinkerhoff

Proposition 22



An initiative statute banning out-of-state gay marriages from being recognized in California.

Background: Currently, California law does not allow couples of the same sex to marry. It also provides that a legal marriage occurring outside of California is valid within the state. Four years ago, the issue of homosexual marriage became a hot topic when Hawaii appeared to be on the verge of legalizing such unions. Although that effort never succeeded, conservatives around the country responded by passing legislation in Congress and dozens of state Legislatures that allowed states to disregard out-of-state same-sex marriages. In California, state Senator William "Pete" Knight (R-Palmdale) tried unsuccessfully several times to pass legislation that banned out-of-state gay marriages before taking his cause directly to voters with Proposition 22, dubbed "The Knight Initiative" by opponents.

Knight has insisted his effort is about preserving the traditional form of marriage between men and women and that there is no personal motivation behind his cause. However, Knight's family has been a subject of discussion in the Proposition 22 debate. Knight has a son, David, who is gay, and the senator has said that their relationship has been strained since David told him four years ago about his homosexuality. Knight also had a gay brother, John, who died of AIDS in 1996.

Last December, Vermont came close to making same-sex marriages a reality when the state Supreme Court ruled that gay and lesbian couples should be entitled to all the benefits that married couples enjoy, although the court stopped short of actually legalizing homosexual marriage. Both sides of the Proposition 22 debate have used the Vermont decision to support their arguments; proponents say it demonstrates the urgency for California to pass the initiative and preserve the "traditional" form of marriage; opponents say the court decision demonstrates the growing acceptance of the homosexual lifestyle. Last year, the Legislature and Governor Gray Davis approved several gay rights measures granting domestic partner benefits for state employees, increasing criminal penalties for hate crimes against homosexuals and banning harassment of gays and lesbians in public schools.

Court action also took place on Proposition 22 after state Attorney General Bill Lockyer — a liberal who once served in the Legislature — changed the title of the measure from "Defense of Marriage" to "Limit on Marriage." Lockyer said the change more accurately described the measure's intentions. Supporters of Proposition 22 challenged the

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modification in court, saying Lockyer's action was prejudicial and would sway voters to oppose it. Superior Court Judge James T. Ford, however, agreed with Lockyer's justification for altering the title and left the change intact.

Surveys have shown that a majority of Californians do not support the concept of gay marriage. As for Proposition 22, most polling has it topping 50 percent in support, with some surveys showing a 20-point lead. Historically, however, initiatives targeting homosexuals have enjoyed leads in pre-election polls, only to lose on Election Day. Previous examples include Prop. 6 in 1978, the so-called "Briggs Initiative" that required the firing of gay teachers, Prop. 64 in 1986, an initiative sponsored by supporters of Lyndon LaRouche that sought the isolation and quarantine of AIDS patients, and Prop. 102 in 1988, an initiative sponsored by former Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer and tax reformer Paul Gann that would have required doctors and blood banks to report all AIDS cases to health officials, including those not verified by medical testing.

Proposal: At 14 words, Proposition 22 is easily the shortest ballot measure in recent memory. It simply reads: "Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California."

Arguments for: Supporters of Proposition 22 include Senator Knight, the Committee on Moral Concerns, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, California Catholic Conference of Bishops, plus 150 other churches and religious organizations, the California Republican Party, GOP legislative leaders Assemblyman Scott Baugh (R-Huntington Beach)and Senator Ross Johnson (R-Irvine), and the Hispanic Business Roundtable. They argue that the measure is designed to protect the traditional form of marriage between men and women and ban legalized gay marriages in another state from being recognized in California. They say it is not meant as an attack on gays and lesbians, nor will it take away any rights currently enjoyed by domestic partners.

Arguments against: Opponents of Proposition 22 include various gay rights organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union, the League of Women Voters, the California Teachers Association, plus 20 other labor organizations, the California Democratic Party, presidential candidates Al Gore and Bill Bradley, Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante, U.S. Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles), Republican Congressman Tom Campbell and approximately 100 religious leaders in California. They argue that Proposition 22 is not about gay marriage, since current law already forbids it, but about undermining the rights that gays and lesbians have already won. A vote against the measure is a vote against government interference in people's private lives, opponents say, adding that opposing Proposition 22 will not legalize gay marriage.

— Noel Brinkerhoff

Proposition 23

An initiative to require ballots in federal and state races to offer voters the option of voting for "none of the above."

Background: The percentage of voters turning up at the polls over the last several decades, both in California and nationwide, has been on a steady decline. The rise of negative campaigning and the perception that most candidates are beholden to corporate, rather than citizen interests, has made voters loathe to exercise their voting privileges. Often as a statement of rebellion, voters stay away from the polls rather than cast a vote for what they consider unacceptable choices. This, coupled with a growing number of registered voters who do not wish to affiliate with either of the two major political parties — particularly pronounced among youth — has given rise to a growing number of people who wish to exercise a little defiance at the polls. It is their belief that voters should have the opportunity to show their disapproval for all candidate choices by casting a vote for "none of the above." In 1975, Nevada passed a provision allowing the "none" option and since that time, in four different races, "none of the above" received more votes than either of the candidates. Several years ago, an organization connected with Ralph Nader tried to place a similar measure on the California ballot, but failed to gather enough signatures. This time around, with the backing of computer industry entrepreneur and Seagate Technology founder Al Shugart, Proposition 23 was born. Shugart previously made a political name for himself in 1996 when he tried to run his dog, Ernest, as a candidate in the 17th Congressional District to convey his frustration with the political party system. Though ultimately blocked from doing so by election officials, Shugart went on to found the Friends of Ernest, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization to promote public interest in politics.

Proposal: In all state and federal elections,California voters would be given the option to cast a vote for "none of the above" along with listed candidates. The "none" option would apply to presidential, congressional, legislative and statewide races in all elections. The measure would not apply to elections for judges and local offices. The number of votes received for "none of the above" would be tallied and reported but would not impact election results. Candidates with the most votes, whether listed on the ballot or as write-ins, would win election. Only minor costs are expected to result from the measure's implementation.

Arguments for: The measure's sponsor, Friends of Ernest Political Action Committee, is the primary supporter of Proposition 23. They argue that voters disenchanted with the political process should be able to register their

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displeasure with a slate of candidates. They view the opportunity to vote "none of the above" as a way to express their dissatisfaction with lackluster candidates and negative campaigning. It is their contention that voting "none of the above" would send a message to candidates that constituents want to see issue-oriented and positive campaigning. They feel certain that more voters would turn up at the polls if they could register their discontent.

Arguments against: In their ballot arguments against Proposition 23, the Green Party argues that this measure only gives voters a false sense of accomplishment. More meaningful, they say, would be systemic changes to the political process. They advocate allowing instant runoffs where voters rank their vote choices or proportional representation, which requires a lower threshold for candidates to win a race.

— *Kathleen Les*

Proposition 24

The Case of the Missing Initiative

When does 25 come after 23? When the California Supreme Court says it does. In early December, 1999, the state's high court took the unusual step of removing Proposition 24 from the statewide ballot. By a 5-2 vote, the court said the initiative, which sought to link a legislative pay cut to a new system of redrawing California's political boundaries, violated state constitutional provisions mandating that the provisions of a law deal with a single subject. The court's action was an ignominious end to the GOP's intrigue-plagued attempt to block a Democrat-controlled redistricting in California. Bakersfield Republican Representative Bill Thomas spearheaded the Proposition 24 effort on behalf of his GOP colleagues in the House. He stuffed a competing redistricting proposal being pushed by GOP gadfly Ron Unz (see next section), and convinced state and national party leaders to bankroll the slow-starting signature-gathering process. Thanks to an 11th-hour direct mail pitch, the initiative qualified, but within weeks it had been challenged by, among others, state Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin. The high court agreed to hear the case, and with a day to spare, struck down Proposition 24. It was only the fifth time since the inception of the initiative process that a proposition had been removed from the ballot. Though another redistricting proposal is in the circulation pipeline for the fall, gun-shy GOP leaders are leery of pumping another pile of money into it, and the prospects of such an initiative appearing on the November ballot are considered less than 50-50.

— *Steve Scott*

Proposition 25

Campaign finance reform initiative to limit the size of campaign contributions and require Internet disclosure of money received.

Background: If there's one subject in which Californians have plenty of voting experience, it is campaign finance reform. Since 1988, statewide election ballots have included no fewer than five different measures seeking to limit the amount of money any one person or group can give to political races. In most cases, these measures have also sought to place voluntary limits on the amount that can be spent on campaigns. Three of those five measures were approved by voters, but in each case, the proposals ran afoul of either the state or federal courts, which have tended to view political contributions as a form of free speech. The most recent attempt, 1996's Proposition 208, was stayed in early 1998 by the federal courts, and is still hanging in legal limbo. The end result: California is still one of six states that puts no limits on the size of political contributions and the source of those contributions in state races. Enter Ron Unz, the Silicon Valley software magnate responsible for 1998's successful bilingual education initiative, Proposition 227. Angered by a last-minute infusion of money against 227, Unz chose campaign finance reform as his next project. He hooked up with Tony Miller, one of the architects of Proposition 208, and set about writing an initiative that would pick through the legal minefield. Unz's original strategy was to couple campaign finance reform with a scheme to change the way new legislative and congressional district lines are drawn. The link was designed to win the support of Republican leaders, who were scrambling for a way to have an impact in California's redistricting process in the wake of their across-the-board defeats in 1998. Eventually, the GOP establishment chose to back what became Proposition 24, the redistricting initiative removed from the ballot by the state Supreme Court. Undaunted, Unz pressed ahead with a stripped-down measure, using his own money to help underwrite the signature-gathering campaign.

Proposal: The central features of Proposition 25 are its restrictions on the size of campaign contributions. These limits — $3,000 per individual for legislative and local races, and $5,000 per individual for statewide contests — are considerably higher than those included in any of the previous reform initiatives. Corporate contributions would be banned altogether. The measure also proposes a schedule of voluntary campaign spending limits for candidates. Candidates and ballot-initiative campaigns that agree to the caps would be given broadcast advertising credits underwritten by a $1 per taxpayer allocation from the state

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general fund. Proposition 25 also proposes immediate Internet disclosure of campaign contributions and the immediate posting on the Internet of all campaign advertising — printed as well as broadcast. Statewide candidates and initiatives would have to disclose the names of their top two donors in campaign ads. Proposition 25 would also relax some of the major donor reporting requirements by boosting from $10,000 to $100,000 the threshold needed to trigger a major-donor filing.

Arguments for: Supporters of Proposition 25 include Unz and Miller, as well as Common Cause, the sponsors of many of the state's past campaign-reform efforts. Also on board in support is Arizona Senator John McCain, a Republican presidential candidate who has made campaign reform the centerpiece of his campaign. Backers say the state's political process is corrupted by special-interest campaign contributions. Limiting the size of these contributions, supporters contend, is the only way to curb the influence of money in politics, and they argue the limits in Proposition 25 are guaranteed to withstand court scrutiny. The spending limit and advertising disclosure will, they maintain, level the playing field between well-funded and under-funded candidates, and will also lift the curtain behind which special interests hide in initiative campaigns.

Arguments against: Opposing Proposition 25 is a coalition of business, public employee groups and organized labor, including the California Chamber of Commerce, the California Teachers Association, and Service Employees International Union. Many of these groups contribute to campaigns, mostly through political action committees. Also opposing the measure is the League of Women Voters, which opposes limits on initiative campaigns. They argue that spending and contribution limits make it easier for wealthy candidates to dominate the political process, since the U.S. Supreme Court has said that individuals can spend as much of their own money as they want on campaigns. Opponents say the measure will create the same "soft money" loophole that currently allows political parties to collect and spend tens of millions of dollars, ostensibly for "voter outreach." They also contend the measure amounts to a $55 million taxpayer subsidy to finance political advertising.

— Steve Scott

Proposition 26

An initiative to amend the state constitution to lower the requirement for approving local school bonds from a two-thirds majority to a simple majority — 50 percent plus one vote

Background: California public schools, from kindergarten through community college, will need several billion dollars each year for construction, modernization and renovation to keep pace with booming enrollment and to repair time-worn facilities. The state currently helps local governments pay for these items by using bonds from the school facilities program. Bonds are like long-term loans that help spread out payments over years. The state often asks voters to approve bonds to build and maintain schools throughout California. However, it takes the approval of two-thirds of the voters to approve local school bonds. California is one of four states with this requirement. Local school districts have long objected to the super-majority requirement because many school bond measures have failed to meet the two-thirds vote required. Since 1986, 47 percent of school bond measures failed to receive a super-majority. In 1993, teachers' groups, school districts and the business community joined state Senator Jack O'Connell, (D-San Luis Obispo), in lobbying the Legislature to put the issue before voters. As a result of their efforts the Legislature placed Proposition 170, a constitutional amendment, on the November 1993 ballot. The measure would have allowed a simple, rather than two-thirds majority of voters, to approve bonds for schools when those bonds raise property taxes above the 1 percent limit prescribed in Proposition 13, which passed in 1978. Voters resoundingly defeated Proposition 170 by 69 percent to 31 percent. The Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, which led the campaign to defeat the 1993 measure, out-raised opponents nearly two-to-one ($1.18 million to $633,500). The group has vowed to raise millions more this year to defeat Proposition 26.

Proposal: Proposition 26 would amend the California Constitution by changing the requirement for approving local school bonds from a two-thirds majority to a simple majority — 50 percent plus one vote. The measure would also require local school bond measures to include a list of specific projects that would be completed with bond funds. Districts would have to submit to two independent audits of bond projects each year. Audits would examine whether bond money was spent on school facilities (and not other items like salaries or operating expenses) and would determine if projects are completed on time and within budget.

Arguments for: The California Teachers Association and computer industry multimillionaire Reed Hastings have joined forces to put the initiative on the ballot. The measure is also supported by business and labor groups as well as the League of Women Voters and the California Congress of Seniors. These groups argue that any tax increases would be minimal. They contend that a simple majority vote on bond measures would allow school districts to obtain the benefits of local bond money and a better chance to qualify for a share of funds from 1998's Proposition 1A, the voter-approved $9.2 billion statewide bond measure to modernize and build schools. To be eligible for those funds, schools must put up matching local funds, which they usually obtain through bond proposals. Proponents say Proposition 26 will provide needed funds for new school construction necessitated by booming en-

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rollment and smaller classes mandated by the state's class-size reduction program. Funds also are needed for repairs of aging or dilapidated school facilities and to provide schools with intercoms, phones and other security devices to ensure student safety.

Arguments against: Opponents of the measure, including the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, consider the two-thirds requirement on local school bonds a fire wall against future tax increases. Critics argue that if the measure passes, so will most bond measures and Californians will see higher property taxes and a crippling burden of bonded indebtedness. Opponents have charged that property taxes could double as a result of the initiative, therefore placing a heavy load on property owners whose tax money pays off the bonds. Furthermore, opponents argue that the accountability measures contained in the initiative are either weak or duplicate existing laws. The Jarvis group also contends that if the two-thirds requirement is rescinded for school bonds, there will be attempts to do the same for parks and water projects and other bond elections.

— Emelyn Rodriguez

Proposition 27

An initiative statute permitting congressional candidates to sign a voluntary pledge to limit their terms in office and making these pledges a matter of public record on ballots and voter-education materials.

Background: For the third time in a decade, advocates of term limits for Congress members are going directly to voters. In 1992, voters passed Proposition 164 mandating a limit of three terms for U.S. representatives and two terms for U.S. senators. Supporters argued it was in their power to regulate congressional term limits at the state level because the state bears the responsibility of preparing ballot materials. But the U.S. Supreme Court, ruling in an Arkansas case, determined that states lacked authority over terms of federal officeholders. The ruling effectively nullified California's measure as well. Then, two years ago, Proposition 225 asked voters to call on their elected officials to enact a federal constitutional amendment to cap congressional terms. Similar measures passed in nine other states, but these, too, failed to pass muster with the courts. A new approach, since adopted in Colorado, Alaska and Idaho, takes a less-incendiary tack. If Proposition 27 passes, California would join these states in allowing congressional candidates to sign a voluntary non-binding pledge to limit U.S representatives to three two-year terms and U.S. senators to two six-year terms. Candidates would be under no obligation to sign such a pledge, but those who do could make their pledge public on voter materials. With this information in hand, presumably voters supporting term limits would make their candidate selections accordingly.

Proposal: Federal law sets no limits on the number of terms congressional members can serve. Under this measure, candidates for Congress are offered the opportunity to sign a declaration stating their intent to serve no more than six years as a U.S. Representative or 12 years as a U.S. Senator. Candidates can request the Secretary of State to include mention on election materials stating whether or not they declared their intent to limit their term in office. It is estimated that the cost to the state and counties to implement the declaration statements would be relatively minor.

Arguments for: Proposition 27 supporters include the California Term Limit Coalition and U.S. Term Limits, the nationwide advocacy group promoting congressional term limits. Supporters point to what they see as success with legislative term limits approved by voters in California and argue that turnover in federal officeholders would produce a higher number of citizen legislators with stronger ties to their local communities. Voluntary term-limit pledges will, they say, give voters a means for both knowing which candidates are willing to minimize their years in office and provides a way for voters to hold elected officials accountable to their pledge.

Arguments against: Ballot arguments against Proposition 27 have been filed by the Sacramento City Taxpayers' Rights League. It is their contention that term limits will undercut the state's ability to receive federal funding because the most senior congressional members have the clout to direct money to their states. They argue further that without long-term, experienced lawmakers with sound working knowledge of the political system, a knowledge vacuum emerges — to be filled by lobbyists and special interest groups who use the system to the disadvantage of the average citizen. Voters always have the option of voting their representatives out of office, say those who oppose the measure, if indeed there is dissatisfaction with congressional representatives.

— Kathleen Les

Proposition 28

An initiative to repeal a cigarette tax imposed by Proposition 10.

Background: Despite the millions that tobacco interests paid trying to extinguish it, voters in November 1998 narrowly approved Proposition 10, a measure imposing a 50-cents-per-pack cigarette tax to fund early child-development programs. This year the issue is revisited by Ned and John Roscoe, owners of

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one of the nation's largest discount cigarette store chains, Cigarettes Cheaper!

Proposal: This measure repeals the excise tax imposed on cigarettes and other tobacco products by Proposition 10, passed by voters in November 1998. It eliminates funding of early childhood development and smoking prevention programs enacted by Proposition 10. It also indirectly affects other programs funded by existing tobacco taxes — specifically health education, research and breast cancer programs funded by Proposition 99 of 1988. And the measure would prohibit imposition of additional surtaxes on the distribution of cigarettes or tobacco products unless enacted by the state Legislature.

Arguments for: Supporters, including the California Association of Retail Tobacconists, say they want to lift a heavy tax burden on cigarette smokers, who they claim have been unfairly discriminated against. They also contend the program is fundamentally flawed, wastes taxpayer money and creates a huge government bureaucracy. The repeal campaign argues that neither county nor state officials oversee or control the spending to ensure that funds will be spent effectively. They also point out that since the passage of Proposition 10, hundreds of millions of dollars have been collected but counties have not spent any of the money.

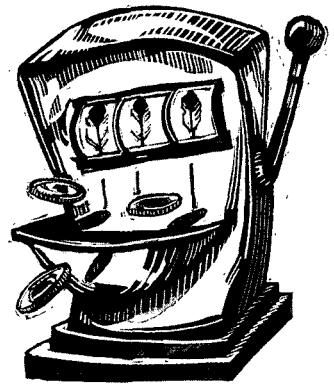
Arguments against: Opponents of the measure include actor/director Rob Reiner, who championed Propostion 10, the American Cancer Society and the American Lung Association. These critics say tobacco companies are attempting to put their profits ahead of the interests of children and families. They argue that tobacco companies are trying to thwart the will of voters by repealing Proposition 10. If the measure passes, opponents say it will slash more than $680 million a year from critical programs that benefit children. These programs provide services such as preschool education opportunities and child care, smoking prevention aimed at pregnant women and parents of young children, and health care for children including immunizations and boosters. Backers of the cigarette tax say that counties have not yet spent money because the initiative first required the creation of decision-making panels to approve spending plans. They say the initiative comes just as the first counties are putting their Proposition 10 tax money into action.

— Emelyn Rodriguez

Proposition 29

A referendum that would formally approve the so-called Pala Compacts, tribal gaming agreements signed by former Governor Pete Wilson and 11 tribes in 1998. The compacts, approved by the state Legislature, place strict limits on both the type and the number of gambling devices allowed each tribe.

Background: After 17 months of negotiations, former Governor Pete Wilson reached agreement with the Pala Band of Mission Indians in San Diego County on the first tribal-state compact in California. Although written expressly for the Pala tribe, it was intended as a "model compact" that could be adopted by the rest of California's gaming tribes. Since 1988, federal law has required all tribes running casinos nationwide to negotiate a compact with their state government. But for nearly 10 years, most of California's tribal casinos have operated without such an agreement. The Pala Compacts were enacted after federal authorities threatened to shut down some 13,000 existing video slot machines at Indian casinos, contending they violated the state constitution's ban on Nevada-style gambling machines. The majority of the state's wealthy gaming tribes bitterly opposed the Pala Compacts, saying they threatened tribes' economic security by forcing them to install new types of gaming machines that gamblers would not find acceptable. They also felt the Pala Compacts, by requiring casino tribes to allow union elections among reservation employees and to meet with local officials to mitigate traffic and environmental concerns, interfered with their sovereign rights as independent governments. Faced with shutting down their existing machines and signing the unpalatable Pala Compacts, the tribes subsequently launched a history-making, near $100 million effort to qualify and pass Proposition 5 on the November 1998 ballot. It passed but was later overturned by the state Supreme Court. A revised version of that measure, now renamed Proposition 1A, is currently on the ballot, along



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with Proposition 29.

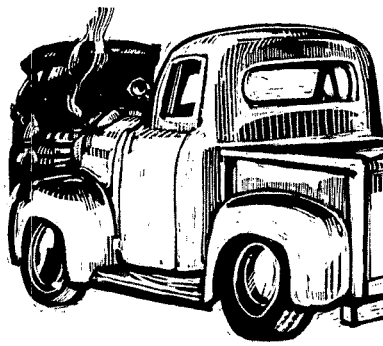
Proposal: The Pala Compacts would limit the total number of video gaming machines operating in California tribal casinos to no more than 19,900 statewide. Every tribe, whether it operates a casino or not, would receive an initial allotment of 199 machines. Those choosing not to engage in casino gambling could "sell" their allotment to a gaming tribe, thus enabling non-casino tribes to reap financial benefits. No single tribe would be allowed to run more than 975 gaming machines, fewer than what some casino tribes currently own. Unlike the video slot machines now available in California's tribal casinos, the Pala Compact requires that tribes run a new lottery-style slot machine that would have the look and feel of a conventional slot machine but would operate as a lottery-style device, in order to comply with the state constitution. The Pala Compacts also require tribes to allow union elections among casino service workers and require tribes to negotiate with local governments to mitigate the traffic, public safety and health impacts of casinos. The compacts also set the legal age for gambling in tribal casinos at 21, instead of 18 as currently allowed. The fate of Proposition 29 is directly linked to that of Proposition 1A on the ballot, the measure to amend California's constitution to allow blackjack, slot machines and other casino-style gambling on Indian reservations. Proposition 1A would enact provisions agreed to last September by Governor Gray Davis and nearly 60 California tribes. If Proposition 1A passes, it would pre-empt and nullify Proposition 29.

Arguments for: Without the limits on Indian gambling contained in Proposition 29, supporters say that California is destined to become "Las Vegas-by-the-Sea", with full-fledged casino-style gambling available to its residents. Proposition 29's supporters include Art Croney, executive director of the Committee on Moral Concerns; Harvey Chinn, state director of the National Coalition Against Gambling Expansion; and Cheryl A. Schmit, co-chair of Stand Up for California!. By allowing a "modest" expansion of tribal gambling, they say Proposition 29 would enable tribes to maintain their economic security while still meeting concerns of local communities. They say Proposition 29 preserves the rights of local residents and communities to resolve negative impacts created by casinos, such as traffic congestion, zoning issues, sanitation and pollution problems, as well as ensure adequate law enforcement and fire protection.

Arguments against: Proposition 29 is no longer needed, according to Richard Milanovich, tribal chairman of The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, because the gambling provisions it contains have been rendered moot by the compacts signed by tribes and Governor Davis last year. Milanovich said Proposition 29's strict limits would end the ability of tribes to support their families and stay off welfare.

— Claudia Buck

Propositions 30 and 31



Referendum to ratify the Fair Insurance Responsibility Act and two laws passed by the Legislature that allow third-party lawsuits in some insurance cases.

Background: To most Californians, a "Royal Globe" is what Prince William uses for his geography lesson. But to insurance companies, especially large automobile liability providers, the phrase "Royal Globe" is frightening enough to make them spend more than $50 million to insure it doesn't become part of the state's legal lexicon. It refers to a 1979 state Supreme Court decision (*Royal Globe Insurance Co. vs. Superior Court*) that interpreted state law to allow accident victims the right to sue the insurer of the person at fault if that company used unfair claims practices — deliberately withholding payments, needless delays, etc. Over the next nine years, these bad-faith lawsuits caused a substantial increase in auto-related litigation, a development that companies say helped drive up the cost of car insurance. In 1988, with its majority switching from more liberal to more conservative, the Supreme Court reversed its earlier decision and outlawed these third-party lawsuits. Since that second ruling, California's civil litigation attorneys, who routinely battle insurance companies in the high-stakes Sacramento political wars, have lobbied the Legislature to re-institute third-party lawsuits. With Republicans George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson occupying the governor's office, the efforts went nowhere. But the election of Democrat Gray Davis as governor changed the political dynamic. In the summer of 1999, the state Legislature approved Senate Bill 1237, which reinstated third-party lawsuits. With the insurance and business communities breathing down his neck, Davis asked the Legislature to hold the bill up just before it was to be sent to his desk. Another measure, Assembly Bill 1309, was crafted that narrowed the scope of the original bill, and Davis signed the two legally interconnected measures in October, ignoring an 11th-hour advertising and lobbying campaign. Saying the legislation would ultimately cost them more than $1 billion a year in additional claims, a coalition of most of the big names in car insurance — Allstate, State Farm and 20th Century among them — immediately set about the process of qualifying referenda — ballot measures designed to strike down laws approved by the Legislature and signed by the governor. Using techniques developed by California's Indian tribes in their successful qualification of 1998's Proposition 5, the insurers organized a gargantuan campaign of television advertising, direct mail and paid signature-gatherers to collect the 419,260 signatures needed to place the laws before the

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voters on the March ballot. They succeeded with time to spare, at a cost of roughly $30 million. Trial lawyers, the lobbying group which engineered the Legislature's passage of the new laws, began organizing as well, but lagged badly behind the insurers, who had already dumped $42 million into the campaign by the end of December.

Proposal: A "Yes" vote for Propositions 30 and 31 would ratify the actions of the Legislature and the governor in re-instituting third-party lawsuits. Proposition 30, the main legislation, lets an individual or business file a third-party lawsuit against an insurance company when a claimant is awarded more than they asked the insurer for and the insurer unfairly handles the claim. In cases where the damage award is under $50,000, the cases could go to a new arbitration system set up by the law. Proposition 31, which can only go into effect if Proposition 30 passes, eliminates the ability of businesses to sue other businesses, requires that property-damage suits can only occur in auto cases, disallows certain types of emotional distress, and restricts lawsuits in cases where arbitration is chosen. In each case, the groups who put the proposition on the ballot are asking for a "no" vote, while those defending the law as passed by the Legislature ask for a "yes" vote.

Arguments for: The primary legislative supporters of the new law, and the main supporters of a "yes" vote on Propositions 30 and 31, are the state's civil litigation trial lawyers, led by their trade organization, the Consumer Attorneys of California. Also backing the measure are Consumers Union (publishers of *Consumer Reports* magazine), the California Congress of Seniors, the state Nurses Association and Harvey Rosenfield, author of the landmark 1988 insurance initiative, Proposition 103. Their cover group is called Consumers and their Attorneys, Yes on the Governor's Insurance Reforms. They contend that insurance companies, especially the large out-of-state conglomerates responsible for the referenda, routinely engage in unfair claims practices — deliberately delaying claims, sometimes for years. The only way to hold these companies accountable, they argue, is to let them be sued. Supporters (and Governor Gray Davis, who as of this writing had taken no position on the referendum) dispute claims by opponents that the new laws give drunk drivers license to sue, insisting the law explicitly prohibits such lawsuits. Supporters also say insurance industry projections of the impact on premium costs are inflated, and note that one major in-state carrier, Mercury, does not oppose the new laws.

Arguments against: The primary opponents of the new laws, and the main financial backers of the ballot measures to overturn them, are several of the larger car-insurance carriers operating in the state — Allstate, State Farm, Liberty Mutual Group, and Farmers Insurance Group among them. They are joined by the California Chamber of Commerce, the consumer group Voter Revolt, Mothers Against Drunk Drivers and the Civil Justice Association of California. Their cover group is called Consumers Against Fraud and Higher Insurance Costs. Opponents contend the frivolous lawsuits produced by the new laws will drive up total insurance costs in California by $1 billion a year, translating to premium hikes averaging $200 to $300 a year. They contend the law isn't needed since consumers can take their disputes to court or the state Department of Insurance if they don't like the size of the settlement. Citing an analysis by Mothers Against Drunk Driving, they contend the new laws will let some drunk drivers sue insurers, in cases where the drunk driver was at fault but nobody was injured. They contend insurers by and large operate in good faith and that the laws are the work of trial lawyers looking to drum up more business.

— Steve Scott

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Real news: Of dunkin' donuts, tattoos and Poncho

by Dana Wilkie

No doubt you're reading this because you seek refuge from your television set, that usually entertaining contraption that has been hijacked by the faces of Bill Bradley and Steve Forbes.

Or you're reading this because you are sick to death of your radio, which has become the handmaiden of presidential candidates Al Gore and John McCain.

It's ugly out there. Candidates who never boasted a California zip code are crawling all over the state, suddenly enamored with water policy and immigration issues. East Coast journalists have descended, reporting on California voters as if they were fascinating zoological specimens. Newspapers and newscasts are bloated with yawner stories about polls and delegates and how the state's open primary has truly screwed things up — and you swear if you have to look at George W. Bush's smirk one more time, you will cancel your cable.

So let's dispense with all that serious blather about the March 7 primary. Instead, let's have some fun. Let's put a match to those myths people cherish about the weighty and sober things that transpire on a presidential campaign trail.

For instance, did you know that despite all their talk about health care, most White House candidates feed their staffers food that would fell a horse? In fact, the meal of choice appears to be Dunkin' Donuts. There are boxes and boxes of them on most campaign buses, and there are actually arguments over who gets the ones with little sprinkles. This is true unless you're wealthy publisher Forbes, in which case, meals typically come with your choice of imported French cheeses, chocolate mousse *flambe* or stock options.

And did you know that voters don't really stand in line in Arctic weather — or sit in church pews the consistency of rock — so they can ask candidates important questions about Social Security and U.S. policy in Chechnya? No. Voters put themselves through such hardship so they can ask truly important things, like: "Do you have a tattoo?"

McCain assured the New Hampshire woman who asked him this that he does not have a tattoo. Although surely this answer falls in the category of "Campaign Promises That Are Impossible to Check Out."

And no matter what you hear or read, nothing short of electroshock therapy will ever get Al Gore to loosen up. Don't be fooled by the khakis and cowboy boots. The man is still the political world's Felix Unger — proper, ordered, and completely lacking in spontaneity. Even his "natural" moments are a disaster. When Gore knelt down in a Hanover bookstore to read to little Nikkita Gottling, the story took so long that the veep's brow started to sweat, while aides nervously shooed people out of the way lest they wind up in the next day's photos. One hopes things were never so tense when Gore read bedtime stories to his kids.

As rumored, Bush really does paste a nickname on just about everybody in sight.

As rumored, Bush really does paste a nickname on just about everybody in sight. This includes street hobos, people on billboard ads and guys like the *New York Times* reporter who follows the Texas governor everywhere. The reporter's nickname is a huge secret, however, because Bush knows better than to call a *New York Times* man "Poncho" to his face.

For all the hype about Bradley being completely laid back and unscripted, we should report that the former senator's "I'm-in-touch-with-real-people" persona works fine. So long as you're not a real person.

When Bradley stopped in a Hanover restaurant, his aides stood like sentries outside the door, forbidding the entry of even those in search of breakfast. Surely Bradley did not count on the young man who stopped by for a bite. "He's not getting my vote," the Dartmouth student spat, walking from the diner in a huff. "He's keeping me from my muffins."

And when Paul Ludwig intruded on a campaign event to ask what Bradley might do about dwindling Social Security checks, a smooth Bradley handed Ludwig off to an aide, who whisked Ludwig away from the cameras with a promise to phone. A week later, the call had not come, and it took a reporter to remind the Bradley campaign that Ludwig was still waiting.

By March 8, when the presidential candidates start trotting out of here with their delegates and their money, you may actually be grateful to get back to that staple of California political news — the often childish antics of the state Legislature.

As for now, think what a conversational hit you'll be at the next fundraising reception.

Contributing editor Dana Wilkie is a Washington correspondent for the San Diego Union-Tribune. *The views expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the* California Journal.

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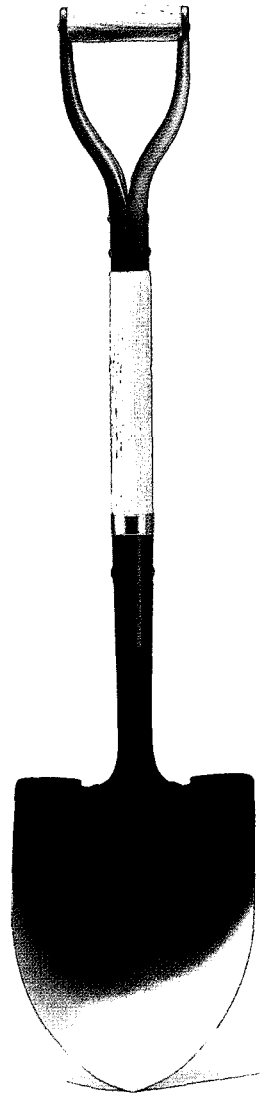

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